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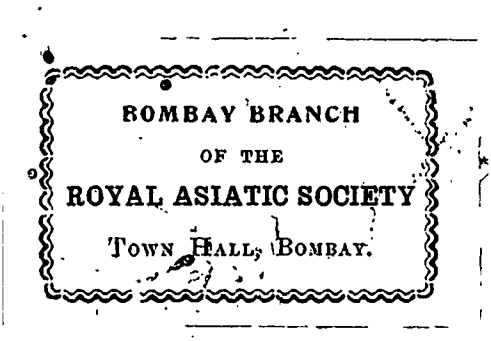

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A. THIERS.

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HISTORY

OF THE

CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE

OF

FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON.

FORMING A SEQUEL TO

"THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION."

35044 ac

BY

M. A. THIERS,

LATE PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE,

MEMBER OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY, AND OF THE INSTITUTE,

&c. &c. &c.

TRANSLATED BY

D. FORBES CAMPBELL, Esq.

WITH THE SANCTION AND APPROVAL OF THE AUTHOR.

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THE HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, which the Author intended to have prefixed to the FIRST VOLUME of this Work, but which, from unavoidable circumstances, he was unable to complete in time for the present publication, will be given with the THIRD VOLUME, now in the press; and a List of the Illustrations, with Directions to the Binder, and a copious Index, will appear in the last volume.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE period embraced by this work (1800 to 1815) forms decidedly the most important era in the History of Modern Times.

On the qualifications of the author it would be superfluous to descant. If the eminent talents of M. Thiers, as a Statesman, were not well known to the whole world, the merits of his preliminary "History of the French Revolution" would irresistibly claim the public favour in behalf of this new production of his accomplished mind, which becomes invested with a deeper importance to us the nearer the history approaches to our own times, and the more British interests are involved in the events which it records.

Having filled, at different times, the high offices of Minister of the Interior, of Finance, of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council, M. Thiers has enjoyed facilities beyond the reach of every other biographer of Napoleon, for procuring, from *exclusive and authentic sources*, the choicest materials for his present work. As "*gardien de l'arche*" (guardian of the archives of the state), he had access to diplomatic papers and other

[redacted]ments of the highest importance, hitherto known [redacted]o a privileged few, and the publication of which [redacted]ot fail to produce a great sensation.

[redacted]From private sources M. Thiers has also derived [redacted]h valuable information. Many interesting *Memoirs*, [redacted]iaries, and Letters—all hitherto unpublished, and [redacted]ost of them destined, for political reasons, to remain so —have been placed at his disposal; while all the leading characters of the Empire, who were alive when the author undertook the present history, have supplied him with a mass of incidents and anecdotes which have never before appeared in print, and the accuracy and value of which may be inferred from the fact of these parties having been themselves eye-witnesses of, or actors in, the great events of the period.

In his descriptions of the Campaigns of Napoleon and his Generals, the illustrious Author has availed himself of the Archives of the French War Office, and the private memoranda of several Marshals of the Empire, and thus every military operation, manœuvre, or siege, described, is in strict conformity with the original sketches, plans, and despatches of those in command. To military readers this circumstance must greatly enhance the value of these volumes.

D. FORBES CAMPBELL.

London, March, 1845.

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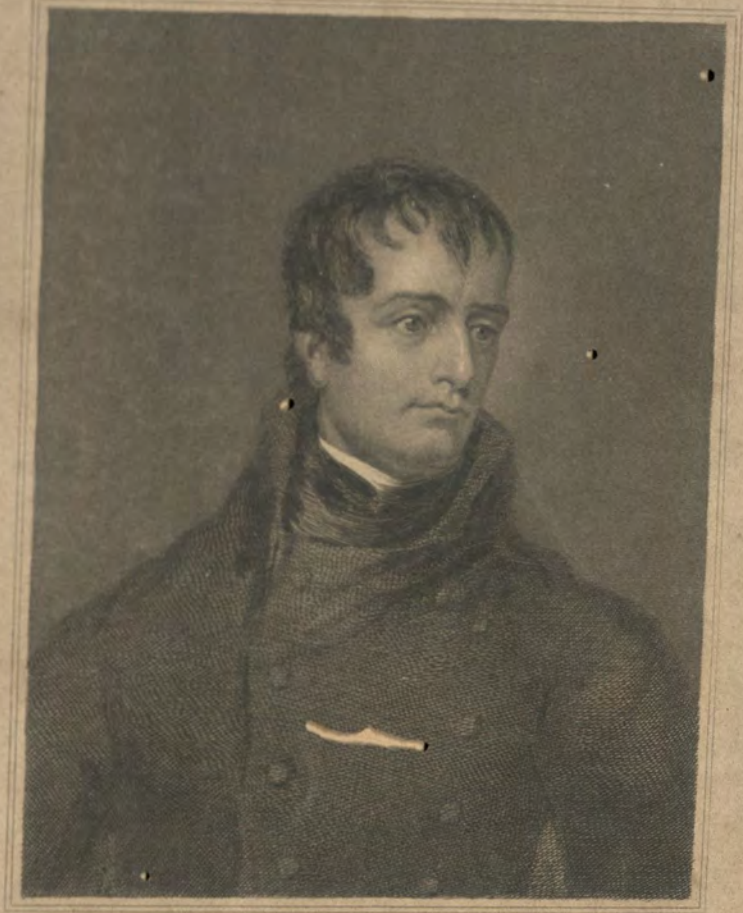

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

First Consul.

London: Henry Colburn, 1845.

BOOK I.

CONSTITUTION OF THE YEAR VIII.

The Provisional Consuls enter upon their Functions—Division of Duties between Sieyès and General Bonaparte—The General secures for himself the Administration of Affairs, and leaves the digesting of the new Constitution to Sieyès—State of France in Brumaire, Year VIII.—Disorder in the Administration of the Finances—Extreme Destitution of the Armies—Disturbances in La Vendée—Agitation of the Revolutionary Party in some of the Cities of the South—First efforts of the Provisional Consuls to restore order in the different Departments of the Government — Appointment of Cambacérès to the Ministry of Justice, Laplace to the Ministry of the Interior, Fouché to the Ministry of the Police, Talleyrand to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berthier to the Ministry of War, Forfait to the Ministry of the Marine, Gaudin to the Ministry of the Finances—First Financial Measures—Suppression of the Progressive Forced Loan—Institution of the Agency of Direct Contributions, and immediate preparation of the Assessments left in arrear for several years—Creation of Bonds of the Receivers-general—Confidence begins to be restored; the Bankers of Paris lend the Government the first Funds that it has need of—Relief sent to the Armies—Political Acts of the Provisional Consuls—Repeal of the Law of Hostages; Release of the Priests in confinement, and of the Persons shipwrecked off Calais—Parleys with the Chiefs of the Royalist Party—Suspension of Arms in La Vendée concluded with Messrs. de Bourmont, d'Autichamp, and de Châtillon—Commencement of Relations with Foreign Cabinets—State of Europe—England and Austria bent on continuing the War — Paul I. irritated against his Allies, is disposed to withdraw from the Coalition, and to accede to the System of Neutrality adopted by Prussia—Importance of Prussia at that Moment—General Bonaparte sends his Aide-de-Camp, Duroc, to Berlin—Rumours of Peace—Sensible Improvement in the material and moral State of France, in consequence of the first Acts of the Provisional Consuls—The Subject of the Constitution begins to be taken up—Plan of Sieyès long before projected and matured—Lists of Notables, the Conservative Senate, the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, the Grand Elector—Disagreement between Sieyès and Bonaparte relative to the Organization of the Executive Power—Danger of a Rupture between those two Personages—They are reconciled through the Mediation of Friends —The Grand Elector superseded by Three Consuls—Adoption of the Constitution of the Year VIII., and the Commencement of its Operation fixed for the 4th of Nivose.

HISTORY

OF

THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE

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FRANCE

UNDER

NAPOLEON.

BOOK I.

CONSTITUTION OF THE YEAR VIII.

THE events of the 18th of Brumaire had terminated the existence of the Directory.

The men who, after the storms of the Convention, devised that sort of republic, were not thoroughly convinced of the excellence and solidity of their work; but, on emerging from the reign of blood which they had just witnessed, it was difficult for them to do better or otherwise than they did. It was impossible, in fact, to think of the Bourbons, to whom public opinion was decidedly hostile; it was equally impossible for them to throw themselves into the arms of an illustrious general; for, at that period, none of our military men had acquired sufficient glory to subjugate the national mind. All illusions, moreover, were not yet dispelled by experience. The nation had just escaped from the hands of the Committee of Public Welfare; it had yet tried only the sanguinary republic of '93, consisting of a single assembly, which exercised all the powers at once: a last trial was yet left to be made, that of a moderate republic, in which the supreme power should be judiciously divided, and the administration of which should be committed to new men, who had

had no hand in those excesses which had filled France with horror. The Directory was in consequence devised.

This new scheme of a republic lasted four years, from the 14th of Brumaire, year IV., till the 18th of Brumaire, year VIII. It was set on foot honestly and heartily by men, most of whom were upright, and animated by excellent intentions. Some persons of violent character or suspected integrity, such as Barras for instance, had contrived to introduce themselves into the list of governors, who, during those four years, transmitted the supreme power from one to another; but Rewbell, La Reveillère-Lepeaux, Le Tourneur, Carnot, Barthelemy, Roger-Ducos, Sieyès, were men of integrity, some of them of considerable ability, and the last, M. Sieyès, possessed a very superior mind. And yet the directorial republic had very soon exhibited a scene of distressing confusion: less cruelty but more anarchy—such had been the character of the new government. The Directory gave up guillotining; it only transported. It ceased to force people to take assignats upon pain of death; but it paid nobody. Our soldiers, without arms and without bread, were beaten instead of being victorious. Terror had been succeeded by a feeling of intolerable uneasiness. And, as weakness also has its gusts of passion, this republic, moderate in intention, had finished with two measures that were absolutely tyrannical—the progressive forced loan and the law of the hostages. This latter measure, in particular, though there was nothing sanguinary in it, was one of the most odious vexations invented by the cruel and fertile imagination of parties.

Is it surprising that France, to which the Bourbons could not be presented in 1799, and which, after the ill success of the directorial constitution, began to have no faith in the republic—is it surprising, I say, that France should throw herself into the arms of that young general who had conquered Italy and Egypt, a stranger to all the parties, affecting to disdain them all, endowed with an energetic will, showing equal aptness for military and civil affairs, and affording glimpses of an ambition which, instead of alarming the nation, was then hailed by it as a hope? Less glory than he had acquired would have sufficed to enable a man to seize the reins of government; for, some time previously, General Joubert had been sent to Novi, that he might there earn those titles which he still wanted for effecting the revolution, since styled in our annals that of the 18th of Brumaire. The unfortunate Joubert was defeated and fell at Novi; but young Bonaparte, always fortunate and victorious, at least at that time, escaping the dangers of the sea as well as the dangers of battles, had returned from Egypt to France in an almost miraculous manner; and, on his first appearance, the Directory succumbed. All parties hastened to meet him, demanding of him order, victory, and peace.

It was not, however, in a day that the authority of one con-

supersede that mob-government where so many, alternately oppressed or oppressors, had enjoyed for a moment a share of the supreme power. It was necessary to save appearances, and, in order to induce harassed France to submit to absolute power, to lead her to it through a glorious, restorative, and semi-republican government. It was requisite, in short, that the Consulate should pave the way to the Empire.

It is this portion of our contemporary history of which I am now about to treat. Fifteen years have elapsed since I recorded the events of our first revolution. Those fifteen years have been passed amid the storms of public life: I have seen an ancient throne crumble to pieces and a new throne rise up; I have seen the French revolution pursue its invincible course: and though the scenes which I have witnessed have not excited in me any great surprise, I have not the presumption to believe that the experience of men and of business has taught me nothing; I have the confidence, on the contrary, of having learned much, and of thus being more apt perhaps to appreciate and describe the great things done by our fathers during those heroic times. But I am certain that experience has not frozen within me the generous sentiments of my youth; I am certain that I love, as I ever did love, the liberty and the glory of France.

I now resume my narrative from the 18th Brumaire, year VIII. (November 9th, 1799).

The law of the 19th of Brumaire, which instituted the Provisional Consulate, being passed, the three new consuls, Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Roger-Ducos, left St. Cloud, and repaired to Paris. Sieyès and Roger-Ducos, members of the late Directory, were already settled in the palace of the Luxembourg. Bonaparte quitted his small house in the Rue de la Victoire, and, with his wife, his adopted children, and his aides-de-camp, took up his residence in the apartments of the Petit-Luxembourg. There, in proximity to his two colleagues, surrounded by the fragments of the late government and the elements of the new one, he fell to work with that unerring and rapid intelligence, and with that extraordinary activity, which had always marked his operations in the field.

With him had been associated two colleagues, Roger-Ducos and Sieyès, both of whom had belonged to the Directory, and both been busily engaged in destroying that government which they despised. Sieyès, in particular, had been placed beside General Bonaparte, because he was the second personage of the republic. Author of the grandest and best conceptions of the French revolution, such as the union of the three orders, the division of France into departments, the institution of the national guard, Sieyès, destitute of eloquence, had rivalled Mirabeau in the early days of our revolution, when oratory conferred more power than all other qualifications; and now

that universal war assigned the first place to military genius, Sieyès, who had never worn a sword, was almost the equal of General Bonaparte; so great is power of mind, even unaccompanied by the talents which render it useful or applicable. But now that it was necessary to lend a hand to business, Sieyès, who was indolent, peevish, obstinate in his ideas, irritated or upset by the slightest contradiction, could not long vie in influence with his young colleague, who was capable of working night and day, whom no contradiction ruffled, who was abrupt but not testy, who could win the goodwill of men when he pleased, and who, at any rate, when he neglected to do so, had always the alternative of carrying his point by force.

There was, however, a task which was generally assigned to Sieyès—that of preparing the new Constitution, which the provisional consuls were charged to digest, and to propose to France without much delay. At this period people were still somewhat imbued with the ideas of the eighteenth century; it was less generally but yet too much believed, that human institutions might be purely a work of mind, and that the constitution of a nation might spring ready made from the brain of a legislator. Assuredly, if the French revolution must have had a Solon or a Lycurgus, M. Sieyès was worthy of being so; but there is only one real legislator in modern times,—that is, experience. This idea was not so common then as it is now-a-days, and it was universally agreed that M. Sieyès should be the author of the new constitution: this was hoped, this was said; it was asserted that he possessed one, which was the result of long meditation; that it was a profound, an admirable production, and that, being now rid of the obstacles which the revolutionary passions threw in his way, he could bring it forward; that he would be the legislator, and General Bonaparte the administrator of the new government, and that between them they would render France powerful and happy. Every period of the revolution had had its illusions: the present period is not free from them; but these, it is true, are likely to be the last.

It was, therefore, agreed by common consent that Sieyès should prepare the constitution, and that General Bonaparte should govern. It was urgent, in fact, that some one should govern; for the state of the country in all respects was deplorable: the disorder, moral and material, was at its height.

The stanch revolutionists, beaten at St. Cloud, still had partisans in the Society of the Riding House (Manège), as it was called, and in similar societies in different parts of France. They had at their head few of the leading men of the two assemblies: but they numbered among them some officers highly esteemed in our armies: Bernadotte, a man of moderate abilities, and of a vain and ambitious disposition; Augereau, a brave soldier, supremely unreasonable, and luckily possessing but litt.

influence; lastly, Jourdan, a good citizen and a good general, whose military miscarriages had soured his temper, and thrown him into an exaggerated opposition. There was reason to fear that the fugitives of the Council of Five Hundred would assemble in some considerable city,—form there a sort of Legislative Body and Directory, and rally round them the men who still retained all the ardour of the revolutionary sentiments, some because they were compromised by excesses, or were in possession of national domains; others because they loved the republican system for its own sake, and were afraid lest they should see it overturned by the hand of a new Cromwell. Such an attempt would have occasioned serious embarrassment in a juncture already extremely difficult, and apprehensions were entertained that it might be made in Paris itself.

In regard to the opposite faction also, there was ground for serious fears; for La Vendée was again in a flame. M. de Châtillon on the right bank of the Loire, M. d'Autichamp on the left bank, Georges Cadoudal in the Morbihan, M. de Bourmont in Le Maine, M. de Frotté on the coast of Normandy, all excited and supported by the English, had renewed the civil war. The law respecting hostages, the weakness of the government, the defeats of our armies—such were the motives which had induced them to take up arms again. M. de Châtillon had for a moment occupied Nantes; he had entered the city but made no stay in it. This circumstance had been sufficient to induce the large communes in the insurgent districts to throw up hasty entrenchments, and to surround themselves with palisades when they could not have the protection of walls. Some, with a view to provide for their own defence, retained the little money which the insurgent country contributed to the public exchequer, alleging that, since the government did nothing for their protection, it was right that they should take care of themselves.

The Directory, though resolved to shun the excesses of the Convention, had not been able to resist all the violent measures which the war in La Vendée, as soon as it broke out again, led the revolutionary party to propose. Hurried along by the movement of the popular mind, it had passed the law of the hostages, by virtue of which all relations or supposed accomplices of the Vendeans were to be confined and to be punished with certain penalties, by way of repressing acts committed in the localities for which they were responsible as hostages. This unjust and violent law had but inflamed the passions, without disarming a single hand in La Vendée, and it had excited inexpressible animosity against the Directory.

The war abroad had been somewhat less disastrous towards the conclusion of the last campaigns. The victories of General Masséna at Zurich, and of General Brune at the Texel, had driven back the enemy to a considerable distance from our frontiers; but our soldiers were in a state of absolute destitution. They

were neither paid, clothed, nor fed. The army which had defeated the combined English and Russians in Holland, having the advantage of being maintained by the Batavian republic, was better off than the others; but the army of the Rhine, which had lost the battle of Stockach, and that of Helvetia, which had gained the battle of Zurich, were in the utmost want. The army of the Rhine, stationed on French ground, practised there, without mercy and without benefit, the system of requisitions; that of Helvetia subsisted by means of war contributions imposed upon Basle, Zurich, Berne—contributions badly levied and badly employed, and which, quite insufficient for the subsistence of the soldiers, revolted the spirit of independence and economy that distinguishes the Swiss. The army of Italy, which, since the disasters of Novi and the Trebbia, had fallen back upon the Apennines into a sterile country ravaged by the war, was a prey to disease and the most distressing privations. Those soldiers, who had endured the greatest reverses with unshaken constancy, and had shown heroic fortitude in ill fortune, covered with rags, consumed by fever and famine, solicited charity on the roads in the Apennines, having nothing to eat but the far from nutritious fruits growing in the arid soil of those parts. Many of them deserted or joined the troops of banditti that infested the high roads in the south, as well as in the west, of France. Whole corps were seen quitting their posts without orders from their generals, and occupying others where they hoped to live less wretchedly. The sea, scoured by the English, exhibited in all directions none but an enemy's flag, and never brought them any succour. There were divisions whose pay had been withheld for eighteen months. Some provisions were levied by means of requisitions; but as for musquets, cannon, and ammunition, which are not to be procured by requisitions—the want of these our soldiers had no means of supplying. The horses, already inadequate to the services of the artillery and of the cavalry, were almost all swept off by disease and famine.

Such were the results of a weak, ill-regulated administration, and more especially of extreme financial embarrassment. The armies of the republic had, for several years, lived upon assignats and victory. The assignats no longer existed; and Victory, after suddenly forsaking us, had scarcely begun to show herself again to our legions, and had not yet opened to them the abundant plains of Germany and Italy.

It is necessary to give here an idea of our financial situation—the principal cause of the sufferings of our armies. This situation outdid all that had ever been seen at former periods. The Constituent Assembly had committed two faults, which had been remedied, to a certain extent, by means of the assignats, but for which, since the discredit of that paper-money, there was left no palliative. These two faults were, firstly, the sup-

pression of the indirect contributions imposed upon liquors, salt, and articles of consumption in general; secondly, the right granted to the municipal administrations to make themselves the assessments of the land-tax and of the other direct contributions.

By the suppression of the indirect contributions the treasury had lost, without compensation, one-third of its revenues. The produce of the domains of the State being reduced to almost nothing by a vicious administration, that of the registration by the falling off of private transactions, and that of the customs by the war, the direct contributions formed almost the only resource of the exchequer; but these contributions amounting to about 300,000,000 in a budget of 500,000,000, were extraordinarily in arrear. There were outstanding debits for the year V., the year VI., and the year VII. The assessments for the year VI. were not completed; for the year VII., one-third yet remained to be made out; and for the current year, that is to say, the year VIII., they were scarcely begun. Owing to this delay in the preparation of the assessments, the current contributions could not be levied, and the accumulation of the contributions in arrear occasioned new difficulties to the collectors, who frequently had to demand payment for several years at once.

This state of things proceeded from the adoption of a principle apparently just, but in reality mischievous, namely, that of leaving the local administrations to tax themselves, in some measure, by preparing the assessments themselves. The departmental and municipal administrations were then conjoined, as every one knows. Instead of prefects, sub-prefects, and maires, who were instituted at a later period, there were attached to all these administrations commissioners, having a consultative voice, and whose duty it was to originate and urge the acceleration of the administrative operations, but not to execute these themselves. The system of cantonal municipalities, uniting the 44,000 communes of France into 5000 collective communes, had increased the disorder. All local affairs were suspended; but what was a still greater misfortune, the two grand affairs of the State, the recruiting of the army and the collection of the taxes, were completely neglected. To make amends for this default of administrative action, the 5000 commissioners attached to the cantonal municipalities were charged with the duty of accelerating the preparation of the assessments; but they had not the only power which could be efficacious, that of acting themselves; and besides, engaged in a thousand different occupations, they paid but little attention to that important work, the preparation of the assessments. The indemnity granted to them for this service, being much more expensive than it has been since the institution of the office of the direct contributions, was a heavy charge to the treasury, and without any corresponding advantage.

Thus the direct contributions, the principal branch of the revenue of the State, were not collected. Besides the permanent deficit arising from the default of receipts, there was another, arising from the amount of the expenditure, which at that time far exceeded the income. The ordinary expenditure might have been provided for by means of a revenue of about 500,000,000; but the war had raised it to nearly 700,000,000. Nothing was left to meet the deficiency but the national domains, absorbed for the greater part, and which it was, moreover, difficult to realise to advantage, because the definitive triumph of the revolution was still a matter of great doubt.

This state of things had led to revolting abuses and to a situation which it is necessary to describe for the instruction of nations and governments.

The assignats, as we have just observed, had long ceased to exist. The mandats which succeeded them, had disappeared also. Paper money was, therefore, completely abandoned; and, great as the void might be, it was better not to fill it up at all for the present, than to fill it, as had before been done, with a forced paper, which was scarcely taken in payments, though forced, and which uselessly furnished occasion for the exercise of all the rigours of the law, in order to compel its acceptance. In lieu of this suppressed paper-money the following system was introduced.

In the first place, the government ceased to pay the civil functionaries, even in paper, so that in Brumaire, year VIII., they had received nothing for ten months. It was necessary, however, to give something to the *rentiers* and to the pensioners of the state. To these were delivered *bons d'arrérage*, the sole value of which consisted in their being taken as money in payment of the contributions. The pay of the troops was withheld; but what the armies took upon the spot for their subsistence was paid for by means of *bons de réquisition*, likewise receivable in discharge of the taxes. The companies which had contracted to supply some of the wants of the soldier, performing that service ill, and sometimes not at all, obtained, instead of money, orders upon the first receipts of the treasury; and by virtue of titles of this sort, granted very arbitrarily, they laid their hands upon almost all the cash that found its way into the public exchequer. Lastly, *reseriptions* on the national domains, receivable in payment for those domains, were another sort of paper money added to all those that we have just enumerated, and contributing to the most frightful stock-jobbing.

These papers, in fact, had not a forced currency like the assignats; but, thrown into circulation, incessantly bought and sold in the market of Paris, rising or falling on the slightest whisper of good or bad news, they were the subject of a ruinous speculation for the State, and of a deplorable demoralisation for the public. The men of business, depositaries of

all the ready money, could procure them at a very easy rate. They bought them up from the *rentiers*, the contractors, or the other holders, at the lowest price; then sent them in to the treasury in payment of the contributions, passing for 100 francs what had cost them at most eighty, and sometimes sixty or fifty. The collectors themselves embarked in this kind of speculation, and, while they received money from part of the tax-payers, they paid into the coffers of the state at par the paper which they had bought at the lowest rate. Thus very few persons paid their contributions in cash; there was too much inducement to discharge them in paper. In this manner, the treasury scarcely ever received any specie, and its distress, in consequence, increased every day.

As the irritation against the Vendeans had produced the law of the hostages, the irritation against the jobbers had led, in like manner, to the measure of the progressive forced loan, destined to reach the great capitalists, and to make them contribute to the expenses of the war. This is what had been called in France, during the days of terror, the tax upon the rich; it is what in England was denominated the income-tax—a tax to which Mr. Pitt had at this time recourse, in order to carry on the furious war which he was waging against France. This tax, proportioned not to the extent of immoveable property, which constitutes a sure basis, but to the supposed wealth of individuals, was feasible, though with considerable trouble, in England, where order prevailed, and the fury of parties did not make the assessment of fortunes a medium of vengeance. But it was not feasible in France, for amidst the disorders of the times, the tax-jury had been a sort of revolutionary committee, capriciously attributing wealth or poverty at the dictates of its passions, and never passing for just even when it was just, which is almost equivalent to never being so. The government durst not bring forward this measure, as formerly, under the mere simple form of a tax; they disguised it under the name of a *forced loan*, repayable, it was said, in national property, and divided, according to the supposed faculties of each, by an assessment jury.

Thus this measure had become one of the calamities of the moment. That, and the law of the hostages formed the two grievances most frequently alleged against the Directory. It was not the cause, as it was asserted, of the poverty of the treasury, a poverty arising from a complication of circumstances; but it had kept aloof the rich speculators, whose aid was indispensable to the government, and of whom it was under the absolute necessity of availing itself, if but for a moment, that it might be able to shift without them afterwards.

This financial situation was, as we have said, the principal cause of the destitution and the reverses of our armies. Being well known to the foreign powers, it inspired them with confi-

dence that they should conquer us with a little perseverance. The two victories of Zurich and the Texel had, to be sure, removed those powers somewhat farther from the object which they had in view, but not diverted them from the pursuit. Austria, proud of having reconquered Italy, was determined to fight to the last extremity rather than yield again. Her bearing there was that of an absolute power. Occupying Piedmont Tuscany, the Roman States, she had not recalled either the King of Sardinia to Turin, or the Grand Duke of Tuscany to Florence, or the pontifical government to Rome. The defeat of Korsakoff and Suwaroff at Zurich, gave her less concern than might have been expected. It was in her eyes a check for the Russian arms, not for the Austrian; a fault of Generals Korsakoff and Suwaroff,—a military mishap not very difficult to be retrieved, and of no great consequence unless it should disgust the Russians with the war. But she confidently hoped, by means of British influence and subsidies, to bring them back into the field.

As for England, rich from the income tax, which already produced more than 200,000,000f. a year; blockading Malta, which she expected soon to take by famine; intercepting all succours sent to our army in Egypt, which she hoped before long to reduce by privations and force, England was fully resolved to pursue all the objects which her policy flattered itself with the prospect of attaining, before she laid down her arms. She calculated, moreover, upon a sort of social dissolution in France, which would soon change our country into an open country, accessible to whomsoever might think fit to enter it.

Prussia, the only one of the northern powers that had not taken part in the war, maintained a reserve full of coldness towards the French government. Spain, obliged by the treaty of St. Ildefonso to make common cause with us, appeared extremely grieved at this community of interests. No one, indeed, seemed to care about having relations with a government that was ready to fall. The victories of Zurich and the Texel had regained it an outward show of respect, but not the confidence of the cabinets with which it was at peace or in alliance.

Thus, at home, La Vendée again in insurrection, abroad, the principal powers of Europe in arms, rendered the danger of the war doubly pressing. It was necessary, by the adoption of some financial measure, to supply the first wants of the famished armies; it was necessary to reorganise them, to move them forward, to give them able commanders, to add new victories to those which had been gained at the conclusion of the last campaign; it was necessary, above all, to cure foreign cabinets of the notion of an approaching social dissolution in France, which rendered some so confident in the result of the war, others so shy in their relations with us; and all this could

only be accomplished by a strong government, able to curb parties, and to enforce unity of action, without which there cannot be, in the exertions that it makes to save itself, either harmony, or energy, or success.

The disease had arrived at that height which is frequently followed by a favourable turn, on one condition indeed, that the patient has sufficient strength left to get over the crisis. Fortunately, the strength of France was still great. The revolution, though decried by those whom it had jostled, or whose illusions it had not realised, was, after all, the cause of justice and of reason, and it still excited the attachment which a great cause always excites. It had, moreover, numerous partisans, bound to its fortunes, in all those who had acquired new situations, bought the possessions of emigrants, or acted a part by which they had compromised themselves. In short, the nation was not so exhausted, morally and physically, as to submit quietly to the invasion of its territory by the Austrians and Russians. On the contrary, it felt indignant at this idea: its armies swarmed with admirable soldiers, officers, generals, who needed only a good direction. All these forces were ready to unite spontaneously in a single hand, if that hand was capable of directing them. Circumstances, therefore, favoured the man of genius who was about to present himself, for genius itself has need of circumstances.

Had young Bonaparte, for example, come forward in 1789, even with his talents and his glory, to preserve French society, at that time tending on all sides to dissolution, because its elements had become incompatible, in vain would he have propped it with his mighty arms: his human strength would have availed nothing against the powers of Nature. At this period, on the contrary, when that old society, broken up, as it was requisite that it should be, before it was recast in a new mould, presented only scattered elements, but tending of themselves to approximate, it was prepared to accommodate itself to all the efforts of the able hand that knew how to grapple it. General Bonaparte, therefore, had for him both his own genius and the favour of circumstances. He had a whole society to organise, but a society willing to be organised and by him, because it had immense confidence in him, inspired by his unparalleled successes.

The law which decreed the Provisional Consulship, conferred extensive powers on the three consuls. This law invested them with the plenitude of the "directorial power;" it specially charged them to "restore order in all the departments of the administration," to "restore domestic tranquillity," and to "obtain for France an honourable and solid peace." It associated with them two legislative commissions, of twenty-five members each, selected from the Council of the Ancients and that of the Five Hundred, to supply the place of the Legislative Body, and to give a legal character to the acts of the Consuls. It

authorised these two commissions to decree all necessary measures, on the proposition of the executive authority. It confided to them, moreover, the highly important duty of preparing the new constitution. And yet, as such powers could not be conferred on them for an unlimited time, the same law enacted that, on the 1st of the following Ventose, the two Councils of the Ancients and the Five Hundred should have full right to assemble again, if, in the interim, a new constitution had not been promulgated and accepted. In that event the members of the then Legislative Body would retain their powers, excepting sixty of them, erased from the list of the councils by an extraordinary measure. The eventual re-assembling being fixed for the 1st of Ventose, the dictatorship confided to the Provisional consuls was limited to three months. It was, in fact, a real dictatorship with which they had been invested: for these commissions, deliberating with closed doors; divided into different sections, of finances, legislation, constitution; meeting together only to legalise what the government had to propose to them; were the surest and most convenient instruments for acting with promptness. For the rest, there was little reason to fear that these powers would be abused; for, when there is so much good to be done, and so short a space to do it in, men do not waste time in doing evil.

On the very day that the three Provisional Consuls removed to the Luxembourg, they met to deliberate on the most urgent affairs of the State. It was the 11th of November, 1799 (20th of Brumaire). It was necessary to choose a president; the age and position of M. Sieyès seemed to call him to that distinction, but Roger Ducos, though his friend, as if carried away by the feeling of the moment, said to General Bonaparte, "Take the arm-chair, and let us deliberate." Bonaparte immediately complied. The official acts of the Provisional Consuls, however, made no mention of a president. They entered into a first summary examination of the state of the country. Young Bonaparte was ignorant of many things, but he guessed intuitively those which he was not acquainted with. He had carried on war, provided for the maintenance of numerous armies, administered conquered provinces, negotiated with Europe: he could not have served a better apprenticeship in the art of governing. For superior minds, but for those alone, war is an excellent school: there a man learns to command, to decide, but above all, to govern. Thus the new Consul appeared to have on all subjects either an opinion ready formed, or one that was formed with the rapidity of lightning, particularly after he had heard special men, the only men to whom he listened, and solely on the subject of their special pursuit.

He was still deficient in a species of knowledge most serviceable in the exercise of the supreme authority—the knowledge not of men generally, but of individuals. As for men in general,

his knowledge of them was profound; but, having always lived with the armies, he was a stranger to the individuals who had figured in the revolution. To supply this deficiency he had recourse to the testimony of his colleagues. But, gifted with rapid penetration and a prodigious memory, he very soon made himself as well acquainted with the *personnel* of the government as with that of his army.

After this first conference, the parts were taken and accepted. The young general, without waiting for the opinion of his colleagues, gave his own at the instant, summed up and settled every affair with the decision of an acting man. It was evident that the impulsion would thenceforth proceed from him alone. They separated, after agreeing upon the things most urgent to be done; and Sieyès, with a resignation which does honour to his reason and his patriotism, said in the evening to Messrs. de Talleyrand and Rœderer, "We have a master who knows how to do every thing, who can do every thing, and who will do every thing." He thence wisely concluded that it was best to let him act, for, at that moment, personal rivalries would have ruined France. It was anew agreed, by a sort of voluntary division of the official duties, that, during this dictatorship, which it was necessary to render brief and serviceable, General Bonaparte should govern, and that M. Sieyès should undertake the preparation of the constitution. This, as we have already said, was a task which public opinion adjudged to the latter, and in the accomplishment of which his colleague was not disposed to cross him much, a single point excepted—the organization of the executive power.

The most urgent matter of all was the composition of the ministry. In a monarchy, it is the first men in a country who are called to it. In a republic, those first men having become themselves the heads of the republic, there are left for the ministry only second-rate men, mere clerks, without any responsibility, because the real responsibility has ascended higher. When such persons as M. Sieyès and General Bonaparte were Consuls, highly distinguished men, like Messrs. Fouché, Cambacérès, Reinhart, de Talleyrand, could not be real ministers. The choice of them had no other importance than a certain political signification and the due dispatch of business. It is in this respect alone that their selection can be considered as of any moment.

The lawyer Cambacérès, a scholar and a philosopher, whom we shall notice more particularly by and by, was retained, without opposition, as minister of justice. After a brisk discussion among the Consuls, M. Fouché was continued in the ministry of the police. M. Sieyès would have rejected him, because, he said, he was not to be depended on, and a creature of Barras', the Director. General Bonaparte supported him, and caused him to be confirmed in his post. He considered himself bound

to this course by the services which Fouché had done him during the events of the 18th of Brumaire. Besides, he united to a very shrewd mind a profound knowledge of the men and things of the revolution. Public opinion, at that time, had marked him out for the minister of police, as M. de Talleyrand, from his familiarity with courts, his experience in business of importance, his acute understanding, and his conciliatory spirit, was marked out for the minister of foreign affairs. M. Fouché was retained; but such was the animosity of the revolutionists against M. de Talleyrand, either on account of his constant connexion with the moderate party, or in consequence of the part which he had played in recent events, that it was found expedient to defer for a few weeks his return to the ministry for foreign affairs. M. de Reinhart was kept for a fortnight longer in that post. General Berthier, the faithful companion of the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, the inseparable chief of his staff, who could so thoroughly comprehend and issue his orders,—General Berthier received the portfolio of war, in the place of M. Dubois-Crancé, who was considered as much too warm in his opinions. M. Quinette was superseded in the ministry of the interior by an illustrious *savant*, M. de La Place. This was a signal and just homage paid to science, but it was not a service rendered to the administration. His superior genius was not fitted for the details of business. M. Forfait, an engineer and naval constructor of ability, succeeded M. Bourdon (de l'Oise) in the ministry of the marine.

At this moment, the most important choice to be made, perhaps, was that for minister of the finances. In the departments already specified, the Consuls could supply the place of the ministers, especially in the two most important departments—war and foreign affairs; General Bonaparte, in fact, could perfectly well perform all the duties of Messrs. Berthier and de Reinhart. But that was not the case with the finances. This is a subject upon which technical knowledge is indispensable; and there was not in the ministry that went out with the Directory any man who could labour effectively at a reorganization of the finances, which had become necessary and urgent. There was a person who had formerly been chief clerk; a man not of a brilliant but of a solid understanding, and possessing great experience, who had rendered, both during the old system and in the early period of the revolution, those obscure but valuable administrative services, with which governments cannot dispense, and which they ought to appreciate highly. The first clerk to whom I allude here, was M. Gaudin, since Duke of Gaëte. M. Sieyès, well qualified to judge of men, though not to control them, had discovered M. Gaudin, and had been desirous to commit to his hands the portfolio of the finances towards the end of the Directory. M. Gaudin, a good financier, but a timid citizen, had declined the offer made to him under an expiring government,

which wanted the first requisites of credit, strength and the appearance of stability. But when power seemed to fall without opposition into able and firm hands, he could no longer feel the same repugnance. General Bonaparte, having a decided partiality for practical men, joined without hesitation in the opinion of his colleague, Sieyès, and offered to M. Gaudin the administration of the finances. M. Gaudin accepted this post, in which he never ceased, for fifteen years, to render eminent services.

All the departments of the ministry were thus filled. Another appointment was added to the preceding—that of M. Maret, since Duke of Bassano, who became secretary to the Consuls, with the title of secretary of state. Charged to prepare for the Consuls the elements of their labour, frequently to draw up their resolutions, and to communicate them to the heads of different departments, to keep the secrets of the State, he had a kind of ministry, destined sometimes to make up for, to complete, or to control the others. A cultivated mind, a certain acquaintance with Europe, with which he had already negotiated, particularly at Lisle, with Lord Malmesbury, a tenacious memory, a fidelity not to be shaken, caused him to become one of the most serviceable, and most constantly employed fellow-labourers about General Bonaparte. In those who served him, the general preferred exactness and intelligence to brilliancy. It is a partiality common to superior geniuses, which desire to be comprehended and obeyed, but want no substitute. Such was the secret of the high favour also enjoyed by M. Berthier for twenty years. M. Maret, though far from equalling him, had, in civil affairs, some of the merits displayed by the illustrious chief of the staff in his military career.

General Lefebvre was retained in the command of the 17th military division. It will be recollected that, at first, in the morning of the 18th of Brumaire, he had shown some hesitation, and that he had afterwards blindly thrown himself into the arms of the new dictator. He was rewarded for it by the 17th military division and the command of Paris. Thenceforward his fidelity might be depended upon.

Members of the two Councils, who had distinguished themselves by their co-operation in the 18th of Brumaire, were sent into the provinces to explain and justify that event, and, if necessary, to supersede such of the agents of authority as might prove either refractory or inadequate to their functions. The result of the 18th of Brumaire was everywhere hailed with joy: the revolutionary party had, nevertheless, in the men compromised by their excesses, adherents who might have become dangerous, especially towards the provinces of the South. Where they did show themselves, the *gilded youth*, as they were called, were quite ready to come to blows with them. The defeat or the victory of either, might have produced serious inconveniences.

Some changes were made in the distribution of the great military commands. General Moreau, deeply irritated against the Directory, which had so ill rewarded his patriotic devotedness during the campaign of 1799, had consented to become the lieutenant of General Bonaparte, to assist him in consummating the revolution of the 18th of Brumaire. At the head of 300 men, he had condescended to act the part of keeper of the Luxembourg, the palace in which the Directors found themselves prisoners while their deposition was determined on at St. Cloud. General Bonaparte, who, by skilfully feeding the pride and the resentments of Moreau, had induced him to accept that singular post, owed him some compensation. He united the two armies of the Rhine and of Helvetia into one, and gave him the command of it. This was the most numerous, the finest army of the Republic, and it could not have been put into better hands. General Moreau had gained but little glory during the last campaign. His services, though substantial, especially when, with a handful of men, he stopped the triumphant career of Suwaroff, were nevertheless no victories, and were not appreciated at their proper value. At this period the battle of Zurich had eclipsed every thing. Besides, the political conduct of Moreau on the 18th of Fructidor, when he denounced Pichegru either too soon or too late, had injured him in public opinion, and caused him to be considered as a weak character, wholly beneath himself when he was not upon the field of battle. General Bonaparte, therefore, raised him considerably by conferring on him so extensive a command; and he came to another very wise determination. The legions of the Rhine and of Helvetia comprehended the most ardent republicans of the army, and many who were envious of the glory acquired in Italy and in Egypt. Masséna commanded them, and he had but little affection for General Bonaparte, though subjugated by his genius. In regard to him, he passed alternately from admiration to ill-humour. There was reason to fear, on his part, some unpleasant demonstration on account of the 18th of Brumaire. The choice of Moreau cut short all possible manifestations, by removing an ill-disposed general from a discontented army. This choice was likewise a good one in a military point of view; for this army of the Rhine and of Helvetia was destined, in case the war were renewed, to operate in Germany, and no one had so thoroughly studied this part of the theatre of war as Moreau.

Masséna was sent to the army of Italy, to places and among soldiers that he was perfectly acquainted with. It was honourable for him to be selected for the repairer of the faults committed in 1799, and the continuator of the exploits of General Bonaparte in 1796. Separated from the army amidst which he had just won a victory and made himself supporters, he was to be transferred to a new army, to which the Directory was

odious, and where he would find none but approvers of the 18th of Brumaire. This choice, like the preceding, was highly judicious in a military point of view. It was the Apennines that the French would have to dispute with the Austrians; and, for a war of this kind, on this theatre of operations, Masséna had not his equal.

After they had decided upon these indispensable appointments, the Consuls had to direct their attention to an affair not less urgent, namely, that of the finances. Before they could obtain money from the capitalists, it was requisite that they should give them the satisfaction of suppressing the progressive forced loan, which, like the law of the hostages, had incurred universal reprobation. The forced loan, as well as the law of the hostages, was far from having produced all the evils that were attributed to it. But these two measures, truly paltry in regard to utility, were vicious in a moral point of view, inasmuch as they revived the most odious recollections of the reign of terror. All, therefore, agreed in condemning them. The revolutionists themselves, who, in their patriotic ardour, had demanded these measures of the Directory, by a reaction very common in parties, had suddenly declared themselves hostile to them as soon as they perceived their failure and unpopularity.

No sooner was Gaudin installed minister than, by order of the Consuls, he submitted to the legislative commissions a resolution, the object of which was the suppression of the progressive forced loan. This suppression took place amidst universal applause. In lieu of the forced loan there was substituted a war-supply, consisting of an addition of 25 per cent. to the principal of the land-tax, the tax on moveable property, and the personal tax. This supply was payable, like the other taxes, in money or state paper of any kind; but, owing to the urgency of the case, it was required that half the amount should be paid in cash.

The war-supply, which had thus superseded the progressive forced loan, could not furnish immediate relief, for it was only to be levied upon the assessments of the direct contributions, and at the same time as those contributions, of which it was in reality but an augmentation, in the proportion of one-fourth. It was requisite for the current service, and more particularly for the troops, that the treasury should be immediately replenished. M. Gaudin, on the strength of this new measure, destined more especially to please the great capitalists, appealed to the principal bankers of the capital, and applied to them for assistance, the urgency of which was felt by all. General Bonaparte entered into direct communication with them, and the sum of 12,000,000 in cash was immediately lent to the government. It was to be repaid out of the first receipts of the war contribution.

This accommodation was a great boon, and reflected honour

on the public spirit of the bankers of the capital. But it was a supply for a few days only. More durable supplies were needed.

We have seen, at the beginning of this book, how the suppression of the indirect contributions, decreed at the very outset of the revolution, had reduced the treasury to the mere produce of the direct contributions; how this revenue had itself been almost annulled by the delay in the preparation of the assessments; lastly, how the assignats, the ordinary medium for supplying all deficits, having totally disappeared, recourse was had to papers of various kinds, which, not having the forced currency of coin, were no longer a clog, as before, to private transactions, but left the government without resources, and gave rise to the most hideous stock-jobbing. It was necessary to put an end to this state of things, and to reorganise the collection, if the government wished to open again the sources of the public revenue, and, with the sources of the public revenue, those of credit.

In every country where there exist taxes on property and person, which we term in France direct contributions, it is requisite to have a return of that property, with an estimate of its produce, and a list of the names of persons, with an estimate of their pecuniary means; it is requisite that these returns be modified every year, according to the transfer of property from hand to hand, according to the birth, death, or removal of persons; it is then requisite to apportion every year among the properties and the persons the amount of taxes that has been decreed; lastly, there must be a collection, at once exact and prudent: exact, to ensure the receipts; prudent, not to harass the payers. Nothing of this kind existed in the year VIII. (1799).

The register of real property (*cadastre*), a work which has occupied the last forty years,* was not yet begun. There were ancient terriers in some communes, and a general return of properties undertaken in the time of the Constituent Assembly. These data, though by no means accurate, were turned to account. But the operations which consist in revising the lists of properties and persons, according to their incessant changes, and in apportioning annually among them the amount of taxes decreed—these operations, which properly constitute what is called the preparation of the assessments, were left to the municipal administrations, to whose disorganisation and carelessness we have already adverted.

The collection was in not less disorder. It was given to the lowest bidder; that is, to those who undertook the duty at the cheapest rate. These collectors paid over the funds levied by them to receivers, who acted as intermediates (agents) between

* The reader will perceive that this portion of the work was written some years ago.—*Translator.*

them and the receiver-general. Both the one and the other were in arrear. The disorder prevailing in every department did not permit a strict eye to be kept upon them. Besides, the non-preparation of the assessments always furnished them with a plausible pretext for deferring the payments, and stock-jobbing with the means of making those payments in depreciated paper. In short, they received little, and paid in less.

On the recommendation of M. Gaudin, the Consuls were not afraid to revert to certain practices of the old government, which experience had proved to be sound and useful. Upon the improved model of the ancient administration of the *vingtièmes*, there was instituted the agency of direct contributions, hitherto constantly rejected, from the mischievous idea of leaving the local administrations to tax themselves. A director and an inspector in each department, and 840 comptrollers, distributed in greater or less number in the arrondissements, were themselves to perform the duty of preparing the assessments; that is to say, to draw up the list of properties and persons, to ascertain the changes which had taken place during the year, and to charge them with their fair proportion of the tax. Thus, instead of the 5000 cantonal commissioners, who could do no more than urge the communes to the preparation of the assessments, there were to be 99 directors, 99 inspectors, and 840 comptrollers, performing the duty themselves, at an expense to the state of three millions instead of five. It was hoped that in six weeks this administration would be completely organised, and that in two or three months it would have finished the third yet remaining to be made of the assessments of the year VII. (the last year), all those of the year VIII. (the current year), lastly all those of the year IX. (the next year).

Courage was required to overcome some prejudices, but General Bonaparte was not the man to let prejudices stop him. The legislative commissions, debating with closed doors, adopted the proposed plan after some observations. Guarantees were granted to such persons liable to the contribution as had claims to make—guarantees which have since been rendered more secure by means of the institution of the councils of prefecture. The basis of all regular contribution was thus re-established.

This done, it was requisite to organise the collection and the payment of the funds into the treasury.

At the present day, in consequence of the perfect order which the Empire and the subsequent governments have successively introduced into our finances, the levy of the funds of the treasury is executed with a facility and a regularity that leave nothing to be desired. Collectors receive, month by month, the *direct contributions*, that is to say the taxes imposed upon land, buildings, and persons, which they pay over to the particular receiver stationed in the principal place of every arron-

dissement, and the latter to the receiver-general resident in the chief town of the department. The receivers of the *indirect contributions*, consisting of customs levied on the frontiers upon foreign merchandize, duties of registration chargeable on transfers of property and on judicial acts; lastly, duties imposed upon articles of consumption of various kinds, such as liquors, tobacco, salt, &c.: the receivers of these contributions pay over the proceeds as they receive them to the particular receiver, and the latter again to the receiver-general, the real banker of the state, whose duty it is to amass the funds, and to dispose of them agreeably to the orders transmitted to him by the administration of the treasury.

The equal distribution of the public burdens and the general prosperity have rendered the payment of taxes so easy at the present day; moreover, the periodical returns, which contain a summary of all the operations connected with the receipts and expenditure, have become so clear; that the taxes are paid on the day specified—frequently before—and that the precise date of their receipt and appropriation is also known. Thus government has found means to establish a system grounded on the truth itself of facts, according as they take place. It is, therefore, in the nature of the *direct contributions* levied upon property and persons (and thus a species of rent), to be capable of being fixed beforehand, both as to the amount and as to the term of payment. They are demanded, therefore, a twelfth at a time, and monthly. The receivers are *debited* with them; that is to say, constituted debtors for their amount, every month. But it is presumed that they have not received them till two or three months after each twelfth or instalment is due, in order to leave them the means of exercising forbearance towards the payers, and, at the same time, to create in themselves a motive for getting in the tax; for, if they receive it before the time at which they have to pay it in, they derive a profit, by interest, proportionate to the dispatch of the collection. It is, on the contrary, in the nature of the *indirect contributions*, (which are levied only upon the importations of foreign goods into France, upon the transfers of property, or upon the consumption of articles of different sorts,) to be received but irregularly, and according to the extent of the transactions in the articles upon which they are laid. The receivers are therefore *debited*, that is to say, constituted debtors, for them, at the very moment when they come into their hands, and not by twelfths and monthly, as is the practice for the *direct contributions*. Every ten days the receiver-general is constituted debtor for what has come in during the past ten.

As soon as he is *debited*, no matter for what kind of contribution, the receiver-general pays interest upon the sums with which he is *debited*, till the day that he pays them away for account of the public services. On the other hand, from the day that he

pays any sum whatever on account of the State, before he is in debt to it, the State, in its turn, gives him credit for the interest. A balance is afterwards struck between the interest owing by the receiver-general upon the sums that have remained in his hands beyond the time prescribed, and the interest due by the treasury upon the sums that have been advanced to it; so that not a single day's interest is lost either by the one or the other; and the receiver-general becomes a real banker, having a running account with the treasury, obliged to hold constantly at the disposal of the government the funds which the wants of the service may require, no matter to what extent.

Such is the system which experience on the one hand, and the improved circumstances of the tax-payers on the other, have gradually introduced in the collection of the funds of the treasury.

But at the period the history of which we are recording, the taxes came in irregularly, and the system of accounts was confused. The collector who was in arrear might allege the delay in the preparation of the assessments, or the distress of those from whom they were to be levied; he could, moreover, conceal the amount of his receipts, owing to the want of clearness in the returns of the operations. The government knew not, as at present, what was passing every day in the several thousand coffers, great and small, composing the general exchequer of the State.

M. Gaudin proposed, and prevailed on General Bonaparte to adopt, a system borrowed in a great measure from the old government, an ingenious system, which has gradually led us to the organization at present established. This system was that of bills of the receivers-general. These receivers, real bankers of the treasury, as we have called them, were to give bills, falling due from month to month, for the total amount of the direct contributions, that is to say, for 300,000,000f. of the 500,000,000f. then composing the budget of the State. These bills, when due, were made payable at the office of the receiver-general. To compensate for the delay afforded to the contributor in paying his tax, it was assumed that each twelfth was discharged about four months after the period when it was due. Thus the bills for the twelfth, payable on the 31st of January, were to be drawn so as to fall due on the 31st of May; by which means the receiver-general, having before him a term of four months, was at once enabled to grant indulgence to the payer of the tax, and stimulated to obtain payment earlier; for, if he could get it in before the expiration of two months instead of four, he gained two months' interest.

This combination, besides possessing the advantage of sparing the payer of the tax and interesting the collector in getting it in, had the merit of preventing the receivers-general from delaying payment; for the treasury had bills of exchange

upon them at a fixed date, which they were obliged to pay, upon pain of their being protested. Such a combination, it is true, was not possible till after the preparation of the assessments, and the collection had been ensured; the receivers-general being unable to pay punctually unless they were supplied punctually. But, this being accomplished by the means which we have stated, it was easy to establish the system of bills; and independently of the advantages enumerated, it was attended with this, that, on the first day of the year, it placed at the disposal of the treasury the 300,000,000 f. of direct contributions, in bills of exchange, which could be surely and easily discounted.

To give credit to this paper, destined to answer the purpose which the royal *bons* fulfil at this day in France, and the exchequer bills in England, the *caisse d'amortissement* (sinking fund) was devised. This institution, which we shall see, ere long, entrusted with the management of the entire public debt, had at first no other object than to support the bills of the receiver-general. The manner in which this was managed was as follows. The collectors of the public money, as a guarantee for their operations, gave at that time a security in immoveable property only. This kind of security, exposing the State to the difficulties of a forced ejectment, when it was obliged to proceed against the granter, did not sufficiently answer the object of its institution. It was therefore determined to require of the receivers a security in money. They were then making such large profits, by jobbing with the produce of the tax itself, as to submit cheerfully to this condition rather than resign their posts.

These securities, paid into the *caisse d'amortissement*, were destined to serve as a guarantee to the bills. Every bill, when due, was to be paid at the office of the receiver-general, or, in default, at that of the *caisse d'amortissement*, which was to discharge it on presentation, if protested, out of the security of the granter. The bill, in consequence, immediately equalled in character the best commercial paper. Nor was this the only advantage of that combination. Probably a small portion of the securities might suffice to uphold the credit of the bills, for few of the receivers-general would be tempted to suffer their paper to be protested: the surplus would then be left at the disposal of the treasury, which might settle for it with the *caisse*, by ceding to it immoveable property or *rentes*.

The government had, therefore, by means of this institution, the advantage of giving assured currency to the bills, and of procuring for itself a certain sum in cash, that might be made forthwith available—a resource which, just then, came most seasonably.

Such was the system of collection and of payment, which in a short time placed the treasury at its ease. It consisted, as

we have seen, in making up the assessments of the contributions, and in putting them in a train to be collected with punctuality and dispatch; in then drawing bills on the principal receivers for the total amount of the tax—bills readily discounted, owing to the means devised to enable the receivers-general to discharge their obligations themselves, or which the *caisse d'amortissement* could discharge for them.

We have adverted to the direct contributions only. As for the indirect contributions, which did not come in regularly or by twelfths, the receivers-general were, after the receipt of them, but not till then, to transmit to the treasury *bills at sight* on their chest; so that these were not available till after the drawer had received the amount. This part of the service, which left too great an enjoyment of funds to the receivers-general, was subsequently improved.

At the moment of the introduction of every new system, there are inconveniences of transition, arising from the difficulty of adjusting the present state of things with that which one purposes to create in its stead. Thus the *bons d'arrérages* delivered to the *rentiers*, the *bons de réquisition* delivered to the farmers, whose commodities had been taken on the spot, lastly, the *delegations* on funds to be paid into the chests, delivered with a culpable licence to certain contractors, were liable to derange all the calculations. Different methods were adopted to remedy the inconveniences which resulted from the presence of all these papers in the circulation. The *bons d'arrérages*, given to the *rentiers*, had exclusively the favour of being still received in payment of taxes; but the amount of them for the current year was known, and by so much the sum of the obligations which the receivers-general were to subscribe was diminished.

As for the *bons de réquisition* and the *delegations*, papers of suspicious origin, and the amount of which was unknown, they were subjected to a particular liquidation. They were discharged at a later period, partly with national property, partly with paper of different kinds, and with due regard to equity.

By paying the *rentiers* in money, as it was proposed soon to do, whenever the due receipt of the contributions should be secured; by providing for the armies, and relieving them from the necessity of recurring to the system of requisitions; by obstinately refusing to the contractors the irregular *delegations*, which had before been granted to them on the receipts of the treasury; the government could not fail to dry up the source of the paper circulation, and to re-establish everywhere the collection of taxes in cash.

With these means, devised for ensuring the revenues of the State, were combined measures, some of them quite legitimate at any time, others still having the character of expedients and the excuse of necessity. The purchasers of national domains, doing as every body then did, that is to say, disregarding the

laws, withheld the price of the immoveable property which they had bought. They were required to pay it within four months, upon pain of forfeiture. This obligation could not but bring in a great part of the paper in circulation, which was specially receivable in payment for national domains. Certain classes of purchasers were to pay a portion of the price in cash. For this portion they were obliged to sign negotiable engagements. These papers were safe and easy to be disposed of; for those who had signed them were threatened with the loss of their purchases, if they suffered their engagements to be protested.

National domains to the value of 300,000,000f. or 400,000,000f. still remained unsold. This value, entirely hypothetical, founded on the estimates of 1790, might, if better times were waited for, be worth double, treble, and even more. The best course would have been not to dispose of them. Urgent necessity, however, caused recourse to be had to a new alienation. It was decided that *rescriptions*, representative of the price of the domains proposed to be sold, should be negotiated to speculators, to the amount of 150,000,000f. Luckily, a very small part only of this sum was issued.

Lastly, a scheme was adopted for representing by paper of the same kind the capital of certain ground-rents belonging to the State, and which anterior laws had permitted the debtors to redeem. This produced well-nigh 40,000,000f. The parties who owed these rents had ceased to pay them, without having, however, effected their redemption. Paper, destined to represent this capital of 40,000,000f., and negotiable, like the *rescriptions* on the national domains, through the medium of stockbrokers, was issued.

These emissions of artificial securities were the last concessions made to pressing wants. Disposed of to speculators, they were destined to procure some resources till the re-establishment of the finances, which there was reason to expect from the punctual preparation of the assessments, and the system of the bills of the receivers-general. For the rest, these papers, as we shall see by and by, were issued with great reserve, and had not their usual inconveniences, namely, the depreciation and the alienation at a low price of the resources of the State.

The solidity of these various schemes, undoubtedly good in themselves, depended entirely on the solidity of the Government itself. Founded on the supposed return of order, they would yield the results which were hoped from them, if order were actually restored; if the executive power displayed vigour and perseverance in the execution of its plans; if it organised well and speedily the new administration of the direct contributions; if it took constant care to require that the assessments should be made out, and put in train to be collected within the time prescribed; that the bills of the receivers-general should be subscribed and paid when due; that the securities should be promptly furnished and

deposited in the *caisse d'amortissement* in sufficient amount to uphold the credit of the bills; if, finally, it abandoned for ever those ruinous expedients, such as *bons d'arrérages, bons de réquisition*, and *delegations*, which it had promised itself to renounce. If all this were effected, it was certain to obtain the beneficial results which were expected from the new financial system. There was reason to hope for it too from the intelligence and the firmness of General Bonaparte. All these plans he had himself discussed, approved, nay, frequently modified and improved; he appreciated their importance and their merit, and he was firmly resolved to see that they were strictly executed. No sooner were they decided upon than they were sent to the legislative commissions, which converted them into laws, without the loss of a moment. Twenty days sufficed for conceiving, for digesting, for clothing them with a legal character, and for carrying them partly into effect. General Bonaparte was at work several times a week with the minister of the finances, and he thus took the best method of putting an end to those pernicious *delegations*, which were frequently granted on the solicitation or through the corrupting influence of the contractors. Every week, he made the ministers bring him a statement of their necessary expenses; he compared it with the statement of the probable receipts furnished by the treasury, and divided among them the real resources, in proportion to the wants of each. He disposed, therefore, of that only which was certain to be collected; and, in consequence of this firmness, the principal abuse, that of the *delegations*, was fated very soon to disappear.

In the mean time, till the assessments were completed, and put in a train to be collected, and till the bills of the receivers-general were transmitted to the treasury and discounted, the government had for its present wants, besides the 12,000,000f. lent by some of the bankers, the sums lodged by the receivers-general in the *caisse d'amortissement*, whatever amount could be raised, through stock-brokers, upon the newly-created securities, and, lastly, the current income or receipts, with which, most imperfect as it was, a shift had hitherto been made. The confidence inspired by the Provisional Consuls had a good effect upon the brokers; means were found to negotiate the new securities with them, though not a creature would have taken them a few days before.

It was by these united means that the government was enabled to relieve the naked and famished armies, and to procure for them a first supply, of which they were in such urgent want. So great was the disorder that, even at the office of the minister of war, there were no returns of the troops, their number, and their quarters. The office of the artillery was the only one which possessed returns of this kind for the troops of that arm. But, as the army was neither fed nor clothed, as the bat-

talions of conscripts, raised in the departments and equipped with the *bons de fourniture*, had been most frequently organised without the intervention of the central authority, the latter knew scarcely any thing concerning them. General Bonaparte was obliged to send officers of the staff to the armies themselves to procure such documents as he wanted. He transmitted at the same time, to the different corps, some supplies, but very inadequate to the extent of their necessities. Addressing them, by proclamation, in that language which he could render so impressive for soldiers, he conjured them to have patience a few days longer, and to display, under hardships, the same courage which they had oft displayed in battle.

"Soldiers," said he, "your wants are great: all possible measures are taken to supply them. The first quality of a soldier is constancy in enduring fatigue and privation; valour is but the second. Several corps have quitted their positions; they have turned a deaf ear to the voice of their officers. The 17th Light is of this number. Are they all dead then—those heroes who fought at Castiglione, at Rivoli, and at Neumarck? They would have perished rather than abandon their colours, and they would have recalled their young comrades to honour and to their duty. Soldiers, your rations have not been regularly distributed, you say. What would you have done, if, like the 4th and 22d Light, and the 18th and 32d of the line, you had found yourselves in the midst of a desert, without bread or water, feeding on horses' and mules' flesh? 'Victory will give us bread,' said they—and you quit your colours!

"Soldiers of Italy, a new general commands you: he was always in the advanced guard in the most brilliant days of your glory. Surround him with your confidence; he will restore victory to your ranks.

"I shall have a daily account sent me of the conduct of each corps, and especially of that of the 17th Light, and of the 63d of the line: they will recollect the confidence that I had in them."

The administration of the finances, and that of the armies, were not the only departments of the government which claimed, in a pressing manner, the attention of the new Consuls. It was necessary, at the same time, to revoke those rigours, unworthy of a wise and humane government, which the violence of the parties had wrung from the weakness of the expiring Directory; it was necessary to maintain order, threatened here by the Vendeans in arms, yonder by the revolutionists, exasperated at the events of the 18th of Brumaire.

The first political measure of the new Consuls was relative to the law of the hostages. This law, which made the relations of the Vendeans and Chouans responsible for acts committed in the revolted provinces, punished some with imprisonment, others with transportation. It shared with the law of the progressive forced loan, and, with much better reason, the public animad-

version. It was, in fact, only under the influence of the blind passions of this time, that men durst render the relations of the insurgents responsible for acts which they had not committed, even though they wished them success. The Consuls dealt with this law as they had done with the law of the progressive forced loan: they proposed its repeal to the legislative commissions, by which it was immediately decreed. General Bonaparte went himself to the prison of the Temple, where many of these hostages were confined, to break their fetters with his glorious hands, and to receive those numerous benedictions, which the reparative acts of the Consulate so invariably and so justly called forth.

To this measure were added others of a like kind, which stamped the policy of the Provisional Consuls with a precisely similar character. Many priests, though they had taken that oath as to the civil constitution of the clergy which became the origin of the schism, had nevertheless been persecuted. These priests, who were distinguished by the epithet *assermentés* (sworn), were some of them concealed or fugitives; others imprisoned in the isles of Ré and Oléron. The Consuls issued orders for the release of all who were still in confinement. This measure had the effect of drawing from their retreats, or bringing back to France, all the priests of the same class, who had sought their safety in flight or concealment.

Several emigrants, shipwrecked off Calais, had been for some time a subject of deep interest to the public mind. These unfortunate persons, placed between the horrors of shipwreck and the rigour of the laws against emigration, had not hesitated to throw themselves on the shore of France, not imagining that their country could be as pitiless to them as the tempest. The partisans of measures of severity alleged, and the thing was nearly certain, that these emigrants were going to La Vendée, to take part in the renewal of the civil war; and they thence concluded that it was right to apply to them the terrible laws of the time against emigration. But public humanity, luckily awakened, was adverse to this mode of reasoning. The question had been several times resolved in a contrary spirit. At the instigation of the new Consuls it was finally decided that these emigrants should be liberated, but transported out of the territories of the Republic. Among them were several members of the highest families in France, and, in particular, that duke de Choiseul, whom we have since found invariably among the steady friends of a discreet liberty, the only liberty that honest men can love and defend.

The acts which we have just recorded gave universal satisfaction. Admire the difference that can exist between one government and another! Had these acts emanated from the Directory, they would have been termed unworthy concessions made to the emigrant party: emanating from the new

consular government, at the head of which figured an illustrious general, whose presence, wherever he might happen to be, instantaneously suggested the idea of strength, these acts were regarded as signs of a vigorous but moderate policy. So true it is, that to be moderate with honour and with benefit, one must needs be powerful!

In this first moment, it was only in regard to the revolutionary party that the policy of the Provisional Consuls was deficient in moderation. It was with this party that the recent struggle had been on the 18th and 19th of Brumaire. Some irritation and distrust were naturally felt towards it; and, among these acts of a conciliatory and reparative policy, severity was exercised against it alone. The news of the 18th of Brumaire had produced a strong sensation among the patriots of the South. The societies affiliated to the parent society of the Riding House, formed in Paris, manifested redoubled indignation. It was reported that the deputies, deprived by the law of the 19th of Brumaire of their quality of members of the legislative body, were about to assemble at Toulouse, for the purpose of installing there a sort of Directory. General Bonaparte, now that he had in his hands the government and the army, was afraid of nothing. He had shown, on the 13th of Vendemiaire, that he well knew how to quell insurrections, and he felt no uneasiness about what a few hot-headed patriots, without soldiers, were able to do. But his colleagues, Sieyès and Roger-Ducos, had not the like confidence. Several of the ministers joined them, and they persuaded him that it was necessary to take precautions. Inclined himself, from disposition, to energetic measures, though disposed to moderation from policy, he consented to doom thirty-eight members of the revolutionary party to transportation, and eighteen others to confinement at La Rochelle. Among the number were wretches, and one, in particular, who boasted of having murdered the princess de Lamballe; but there were also honourable men, members of the two Councils, and one distinguished and respectable personage, General Jourdan. His public opposition to the 18th of Brumaire had at the moment excited some apprehensions. To inscribe the name of such a man in such a list was a fault upon a fault.

Public opinion, though unfavourably disposed towards the revolutionists, treated this measure with coldness and almost with censure. Such was the aversion to severity, to reactions, that they were disapproved, even when exercised against those who had themselves stuck at nothing of the kind. Remonstrances poured in from all quarters, and some of them from very high ones, in favour of certain names included in this list of proscription. The Court of Cassation presented a memorial in behalf of one of its members, Xavier Audouin, who had not deserved that so much trouble should be taken on his account. M. de Talleyrand, always mild from disposition, always adroit

in his proceedings, whom the revolutionary party contributed by its aversion to keep out of the ministry of foreign affairs, had the good feeling to interpose in favour of one Jorry, who had publicly insulted him. He did so, he said, for fear the insertion of this vulgar offender's name in the list of the new proscripts might be attributed to revenge on his part. His published letter did him honour, and saved the person for whom he pleaded. In compliance with a public demand, as it were, General Jourdan's name was also erased. Most fortunately, the speedy and favourable turn taken by events allowed the abrogation of this act, which was only an accidental deviation from a course otherwise firm and straightforward.

General Bonaparte had sent his devoted lieutenant, General Lannes, to Toulouse. On the mere appearance of this officer, all preparations for resistance ceased. Tranquillity was restored in the city of Toulouse; the societies auxiliary to that of the Riding House were shut up in all the cities of the South. The hot-headed revolutionists soon saw that public opinion, re-acting against them, had ceased to be in their favour, and they perceived at the head of the government a man whom nobody could hope to be able to resist. Besides, the most rational of them could not forget that it was this same man who, on the 13th of Vendemiaire, had dispersed the royalist bands of the sections of Paris, which had risen against the Convention, and who, under the Directory, by lending a hand to the government, had furnished it with the means of bringing about the 18th of Fructidor. They submitted, therefore: the most violent uttering some cries of rage which were soon stifled; the others hoping at least that under the military government of the new Cromwell, as they then called him, the revolution and France would not be conquered for the advantage of the Bourbons, the English, the Austrians, and the Russians.

A single act of resistance, not by force, but by legal means, was offered to the 18th of Brumaire. The president of the criminal tribunal of the Yonne, named Barnabé, following the example of the ancient parliaments, refused to register the law of the 19th of Brumaire, constituting the provisional government. This magistrate, denounced to the legislative commissions, was charged with having refused to perform his duties, suspended, and removed from his seat. He submitted to his fate with resignation and dignity.

The speedy defeat of these attempts at resistance allowed the government to rescind a measure which was in contradiction with its prudent policy. On a report from Cambacérès, minister of justice, stating that order was re-established in the departments, and that the laws were everywhere executed without impediment, the transportation decreed against the thirty-eight individuals, and the confinement at Rochelle of eighteen

others, were commuted into mere *surveillance*, and this, too, was soon discontinued.

This measure was soon eclipsed by the series of sensible, judicious, and vigorous acts which marked the new government. La Vendée had, in its turn, created some uneasiness. A recent rising had been attempted towards the end of the Directory. But the accession of General Bonaparte completely changed the face of things, and the views entertained in all parts of the Republic. The leaders of the new royalist insurrection had been excited to take up arms as much by the late severities of the Directory, as by the hope of the speedy overthrow of that government. But, on the one hand, the repeal of the law of the hostages, the liberation of the priests, the grant of life to the shipwrecked emigrants, had a conciliatory effect; while, on the other, the attainment of General Bonaparte to power put an end to all hope of witnessing the dissolution of the order of things which had sprung from the revolution. The 18th of Brumaire had been productive of a change of sentiment in La Vendée, as in other quarters, and given birth to feelings altogether new.

The royalist chiefs, some of whom were fighting in the fields of La Vendée, while others were in Paris engaged in political intrigues, worked up, like every party which seeks to overturn a government, to a continual activity of mind, and incessantly in quest of new combinations for rendering their cause triumphant, conceived that there might perhaps be some way of coming to an understanding with General Bonaparte. They thought that so eminent a personage could not be very desirous of figuring for a few days on the shifting stage of the French revolution, only to disappear, like his predecessors, in the abyss opened beneath their feet; and that he would much rather occupy a place in a peaceable and regularly constituted monarchy, of which he would be the ornament and support. They were, in short, so credulous as to hope that the part of Monk would suit a man who considered even that of Cromwell as not great enough for him. They availed themselves of the medium of one of those foreign diplomatic agents, who, under the pretext of studying the country to which they are accredited, dabble in all the underhand intrigues of parties, and obtained an introduction to General Bonaparte. Messrs. Hyde de Neuville and D'Andigné were the royalists who ventured to take this step.

It is unnecessary to demonstrate how very erroneous the judgment which they had formed of General Bonaparte must have been. This extraordinary man, now sensible of his strength and his greatness, would not be the servant of any party. If he was not fond of disorder, he was fond of the Revolution; if he did not believe in the full extent of liberty

which it had promised, he desired that total social reform, which it was its object to accomplish. He desired, therefore, the triumph of that Revolution; he desired the glory of terminating it, and making it lead to a peaceful and regular state of things; he desired to remain its head, with no matter what title, under no matter what form of government: but as for being the instrument of any other power than that of Providence, he had already too much glory, and consciousness of his strength, to consent to that.

He gave audience to Messrs. Hyde de Neuville and d'Andigné, listened to their insinuations, more or less plain, and frankly declared his intentions, which were to put an end to persecutions, to reconcile all the parties with the government; but to let none of them triumph, excepting that of the Revolution itself—of the Revolution, understood in its better signification. He expressed his fixed determination to treat with the Vendean insurgents on reasonable conditions, or to exterminate them to the last man. This interview, then, led to nothing, and only served to make the royalist party better acquainted with the general.

While these negotiations were taking place in Paris between General Bonaparte and some friends of the Bourbons, others were carried on in La Vendée itself, between the leaders of the insurrection and the generals of the Republic. Towards the end of the Directory, when nobody knew whom to obey, a sort of laxity, nearly approaching to disloyalty, had crept into the army which guarded La Vendée; and more than one republican officer, doubting the existence of the Republic much longer, had turned their eyes towards the royalist party. Every thing having changed with the accession of Bonaparte, these communications, which had well nigh become dangerous, became, on the contrary, useful, and the parleys took a new direction. The royalist leaders, who drew to them the officers of the republican army, were drawn in their turn, by those same officers, towards the government of the Republic. It was pointed out to them how little chance there was of conquering the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, and what hopes they might indulge of obtaining from him a mild and reparative system, which would render the condition of all parties peaceable and agreeable. This language was not without success. At this moment, there was at the head of the army of the West a discreet, conciliatory, and trusty officer, who had been much employed by General Hoche at the time of the first pacification of La Vendée: this was General Hédouville. He made himself master of all that was going forward, and offered to communicate his information to the new Consul.

The latter at once availed himself of it, and ordered General Hédouville to treat with the Vendean chiefs. These chiefs, intimidated by the presence of General Bonaparte in power, manifested a disposition to come to terms. There were difficulties in

the way of signing a capitulation forthwith, and of agreeing upon the articles of that capitulation; but a suspension of arms was not attended with the same difficulties. The chiefs offered to sign one immediately. The offer was accepted on behalf of the government, and, in a few days, Messrs. de Châtillon, d'Autichamp, and de Bourmont, signed a suspension of arms for La Vendée and part of Bretagne. It was agreed that they should address themselves to Georges Cadoudal and to M. de Frotté, and propose to them to adopt the like course in the Morbihan and Normandy.

This act of the new government was not long in hand, for it was accomplished at the beginning of Frimaire, about twenty days after the installation of the Provisional Consuls. It afforded general satisfaction, and led to surmises that the pacification of La Vendée was nearer than it could possibly be.

Some rumours of the like kind respecting foreign powers likewise led people to hope, from the lucky star of General Bonaparte, for a speedy re-establishment of the peace of Europe.

As we have said at the beginning of this book, Prussia and Spain alone were at peace with France, the former always showing coldness, the latter always embarrassed by her community of interests with us. Russia, Austria, England, and all the lesser powers in their train, both in Italy and in Germany, kept up an obstinate conflict with the French Republic. England, with whom the war was a mere question of finance, had resolved this question for herself by establishing the income-tax, which already yielded an abundant revenue. She decided, therefore, to continue hostilities, that she might have time to take Malta, which she was then blockading, and reduce the French army in Egypt by blockading that country too. Austria, in possession of all Italy, was determined to risk every thing rather than restore that conquest. But the chivalrous Paul I., who had rushed into the war from an inspiration of his wild enthusiasm, had just seen his arms humbled at Zurich, and had, on this account, conceived a keen resentment against every body, but especially against Austria. He had been persuaded that the latter was the sole cause of this mischance; for her soldiers bound, in terms of a concerted movement, to advance on the Rhine, and to relinquish Switzerland to the Russians, had, by quitting the position of Zurich too soon, left Korsakoff exposed alone to the attack of Masséna, who, having vanquished Korsakoff, had afterwards made short work of Suwarow. Paul I. considered this as the act of a bad ally, perhaps an act of treachery. Mistrust once excited, every thing appeared to him in an unpleasant light. He had taken up arms, he said, only to protect the weak against the oppression of the strong, and to replace on their thrones the princes whom the French Republic had hurled from them. Now, Austria had everywhere hoisted her flag in Italy, and had not recalled to that country any of the dethroned princes. He began to say to himself that, acting from pure generosity, he

was the dupe of allies who acted solely from interest. Fickle to excess, he gave himself up to these new sentiments as violently as he had before abandoned himself to the contrary sentiments. One other circumstance had exasperated him in the highest degree; the Russian flag had been struck at Ancona, and the Austrian hoisted in its stead. This was but a wrong done by an inferior officer, but a wrong, of whatever kind it might be, that touched him to the quick.

The sentiments of absolute princes, in spite of their pretensions to secrecy, break forth as speedily as the sentiments of free nations: the former, in fact, will not be repressed any more than the latter. This new result of the battle of Zurich began to be known all over Europe, and this was not the less fortunate for us.

On this news, Austria and England redoubled their attentions to Paul I. Suwarow, the invincible Suwarow (as he was called before he encountered Masséna) had been loaded with distinctions of all sorts. But the chagrin of the Russian general was no more soothed than the resentment of the czar. A quite new manifestation, on the part of Paul I., served more especially to excite apprehensions that he would soon abandon the coalition.

In the first heat of his zeal for the coalition, he had declared war against Spain, because she made common cause with France, and he had well-nigh issued a similar declaration against Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, because those powers determined to remain neuter. With Prussia his relations had entirely ceased. Since the late events, he appeared to be in much better humour with the courts against which he had before been so inimically disposed, and sent, in particular, to Berlin, a diplomatist who possessed his confidence, M. de Krudener, who was directed to proceed thither as a mere traveller, but with the secret commission to re-establish relations between the two courts of Prussia and Russia.

We had then at Berlin a prudent and able agent, M. Otto, whose name was afterwards associated with the most important events of that period. He had apprised the government of the new state of things. It was evident, in fact, that if we were inclined to peace rather than war, the key of the situation was in Berlin. Spain, thrown to the extremity of Europe by her geographical position, and of politics by the weakness of her government—Spain could be of no utility. But Prussia, placed in the midst of the belligerent powers, having remained neuter in spite of their strong solicitations, ill thought of at first by all the cabinets, in the first heat of the coalition; afterwards more favourably judged, since they had grown more calm—Prussia became the centre of influence, especially since Russia appeared to court her. What had been called pusillanimity in her, now began to pass for wisdom. This court, if it were to take up

energetically the part that seemed to be assigned to it by events, might serve for a link between France and Europe, might even impose its mediation, that method, so much employed since and with such profit, of interfering seasonably between weary adversaries, and of reaping all the fruits both of the war, which one has not waged, and of the peace which one has dictated. Had Prussia dared to do this, she would not have played a grander part since the days of the great Frederick.

At this period, there was on the throne of Prussia a young king, honest, full of good intentions, passionately fond of peace, and who never ceased to deplore the fault committed by his father, in throwing away, upon a mad war against the French Republic, the military glory and the treasure accumulated by the great Frederick. Now, replaced in pacific relations with the French Republic, he availed himself of them to retrieve by his economy the treasure left by his great-uncle, and wasted by his father. In his Council he had an able, intellectual minister, M. d'Haugwitz, gifted in the highest degree with the talent of eluding difficulties; a partisan, like his master, of a pacific policy, but more ambitious than he, and believing that from a well-directed neutrality more extensive aggrandisements might be derived for Prussia than from war itself. At that time, indeed, this might be true. He therefore urged his sovereign to assume actively the part of mediator and pacificator of the Continent. The part, no doubt, was a very great one for the young and timid Frederick William; but this prince was able to fill it to a greater or less extent, and to take upon himself a portion, if not the whole.

General Bonaparte, having perceived all this, immediately began diligently to caress the court of Prussia. It had at one time been very convenient for him to be a member of the Institute, that he might figure by that title only at certain solemnities, especially at the festival held on the 21st of January, at which he did not choose to appear in a political character; it was now convenient for him to be a general and to have aides-de-camp to send off whithersoever he thought fit. The idea occurred to him to follow the example of sovereigns who, on ascending the throne, despatch high dignitaries to announce their accession. He did, in fact, the same thing with less show, by sending to Berlin one of his aides-de-camp, which an entirely military head of a State might assuredly venture to do, without appearing to go beyond his part. Among those who served him in that capacity was one, prudent, discreet, intelligent, combining highly polished manners with a pleasing person: this was Duroc, who had returned from Egypt with his general, and bore on his brow some reflection of the glory of the Pyramids. The new Consul ordered him to proceed forthwith to Berlin, to compliment the King and Queen of Prussia, to present himself there as charged with a mission of courtesy and respect; but to take advantage of

any occasion that might offer, to explain the last revolution which had just been effected in France, to represent it as a return to order, to sound traditions, and, above all, to pacific sentiments. Duroc was to flatter the young king, and to hint that the French government would be glad to make him, if he pleased, the arbiter of the future peace. The Republic, strengthened by the victories of the Texel and of Zurich, and by others, for which the name of General Bonaparte was a pledge in future, could, without fear for her dignity, present herself with the olive branch of peace in her hand.

While he was despatching Duroc to Berlin, General Bonaparte performed, in the name of the Provisional Consuls, several acts designed to produce a similar impression abroad. In the first place, after having for some time deferred the entry of M. de Talleyrand upon the ministry of foreign affairs, he at length called him to it. The post could not have been conferred on a personage more conciliatory, more fitted to treat with Europe, more capable of pleasing, nay, even flattering it, without lowering the French cabinet from its elevated position. We shall have other occasions for portraying this singular and remarkable character. Suffice it here to observe, that the choice of this personage clearly proved that, without passing from energy to weakness, the French government was abandoning the policy of passions for the policy of calculation. There was nothing, even to that exquisite elegance of manners peculiar to M. de Talleyrand, that was not an advantage for the new position which government sought to assume towards foreign powers.

General Bonaparte made some other diplomatic appointments, conceived in the same spirit. Though M. Otto, *chargé d'affaires* at Berlin, since M. Sieyès quitted that post, was an excellent agent, still he was but a mere *chargé d'affaires*. Another destination, in which he soon made himself very useful, was assigned to him, and the appointment of minister at Berlin was given to General Beurnonville, an old friend of Lafayette's, long the prisoner of Austria, and one of those members of the minority of the French noblesse, who had, in 1789, sincerely embraced the cause of the Revolution. General Beurnonville was a straightforward soldier; open, sincere, moderate in opinion, and perfectly qualified for a fit representative of the new government. Austria, whose prisoner he had long been, inspired him with a hatred, which was a sort of passport in Berlin, where nearly the same sentiments prevailed in regard to that power as in the time of the great Frederick.

For our representative at Madrid we had one of the demagogues of former years, a man without any sort of influence, who has left no name in the diplomatic world, into which events had accidentally thrown him. He was superseded by a Constituent, a discreet, clever, well-informed man, who figured with honour

in the diplomatic events of that time: this was M. Alquier. Lastly, in the place of a creature of the Directory's, named Grouvelle, M. Bourgoing was sent to Copenhagen, where the principles of maritime neutrality, so flagrantly violated by England, were likely to produce sentiments favourable to us. All these appointments were excellent, and well calculated to indicate the spirit of prudence and moderation, which began to prevail in the relations of France with foreign powers.

To the selection of these persons the consuls were solicitous to add certain acts, which might serve for answer to a charge generally circulated in the courts of Europe, alleging that the French Republic was incessantly violating the law of nations, or the treaties concluded with her. Assuredly she had not violated the law of nations and treaties so much as Austria, England, and all the courts at war with us; but it was the practice to assert that it was impossible to have relations with an unstable, passionate government, represented by new men, who never considered themselves bound by their engagements, or by the traditions of European public law. This reproach might be flung back, with greater justice, upon the cabinets of Europe, who had done worse, without having the excuse either of revolutionary passions or of continual changes of government. To convey a better idea of the policy of the Consuls, General Bonaparte performed an act of justice towards the unfortunate Knights of Malta, who, when possession was taken of the island, had been promised that such of them as belonged to the *French tongue* should not be treated in France as emigrants. Hitherto they had not been able to benefit by this condition of their capitulation, either in regard to their persons, or in regard to their possessions. General Bonaparte caused them to be put into the complete enjoyment of the advantage granted in that capitulation.

In respect to Denmark, he adopted a measure, excellent in its effect, and benevolently equitable. There were in the ports of France many Danish vessels, detained by the Directory, by way of reprisals in regard to neutrals. They were accused of neglecting to uphold the rights of maritime neutrality, of submitting to be searched by the English, and allowing French property, with which they were loaded, to be seized on board of them. The Directory had declared that it would order them to be subjected to precisely the same acts of violence as they endured on the part of the English, to compel them to defend with more energy the principles of the law of nations, in virtue of which they navigated. This would certainly have been but justice, if, having the power to enforce respect, they had not chosen to employ it; but the unfortunate Danes did the best they could, and it was harsh to punish them for the violence of others by the violence of ourselves. In pursuance of this system, many

of their merchantmen had been detained. General Bonaparte ordered them all to be released, in token of a more equitable and more moderate policy.

Duroc, who was sent to Berlin, speedily arrived there, and was presented by M. Otto, who was still in that capital. According to the strict rules of etiquette, Duroc, a mere aide-de-camp, could not be placed in direct communication with the court. All these rules were set aside for an officer attached to the person of General Bonaparte. He was received by the king, by the queen, and incessantly invited to Potsdam. Curiosity had as great a share as policy in these attentions; for glory, in addition to its lustre, has material advantages in public affairs. To see, to hear, the aide-de-camp, Duroc, was like approaching, though distantly, the extraordinary man whom the whole world was talking of. Duroc had borne a part in the battles of the Pyramids, Mount Tabor, and Aboukir. He was asked a thousand questions, and he answered them simply, truly, and without exaggeration. He appeared mild, polite, modest, deeply submissive to his general, and furnished a most advantageous idea of the kind of behaviour which that general imposed upon all about him. The success of Duroc in Berlin was complete. The queen manifested the greatest kindness for him; and in all quarters people began to talk of the French Republic in more favourable terms. Duroc found the young king highly pleased to see a strong and moderate government at length established in Paris, and, above all, flattered at being courted at one and the same time by Russia and France, earnestly desiring to play the part of mediator, but having more desire than ability; showing, nevertheless, great zeal and ardour for performing it.

The success of this mission engaged the courts of Europe, and re-echoed as far as Paris itself. The idea of a speedy peace soon began to gain ground. A very specious circumstance, but in itself of little consequence, contributed singularly to the propagation of this idea. The French and Austrian armies were in presence of each other along the Rhine, and on the crests of the Alps and the Apennines. On the Rhine, they were stopped by an obstacle sufficient to prevent any serious operation; for the passage of the Rhine by either was too great an enterprise to be undertaken, unless with the determination to open the campaign. It was now the month of Frimaire, that is, December; that was, therefore, not to be thought of. Skirmishes on the banks of the river became, under these circumstances, a useless effusion of blood. An armistice was agreed upon for this frontier. As for that of the Alps and the Apennines, the case was different. In that country, abounding in such diversity of situations, a well combined operation in this or that valley might procure an enviable position for the resumption of operations. The parties, therefore, would not tie their hands in

that quarter, and no armistice took place there. But attention was paid only to that which had been just signed upon the Rhine; and among the happy changes which people pleased themselves with expecting from the new government, was classed the possibility, nay, the probability of a speedy peace.

In public evils there are always a real evil and an imaginary evil, the one contributing to render the other insupportable. It is a great point gained to do away with the imaginary evil; for you diminish the sense of the real evil and inspire him who has to endure it with the patience to await the cure, and above all a disposition to submit to the proposed remedy. Under the Directory people had made up their minds not to expect any thing from a weak, disrespected government, which, in order to repress faction, proceeded to violence, without obtaining any of the effects of strength. Every thing that it did was taken in bad part; people would not expect from it any good, neither would they even believe it, when, by accident, it accomplished some little. Victory, which had seemed to return to that government in the last days of its existence,—victory, which would have brought glory to others, had not even served to gain it honour.

The accession of General Bonaparte, of whom the public was in the habit of expecting every thing, in point of success, had changed this disposition. The imaginary evil was cured; people had confidence; they took every thing in good part. His acts were certainly good in themselves; for it was good to release the hostages, to liberate the priests, to manifest pacific dispositions to Europe; but above all the public was disposed to consider them as such. A symptom of approach such as the welcome given to an aide-de-camp, an armistice of no consequence, like that which had just been signed on the Rhine, were already regarded as pledges of peace. Such is the spell of confidence! It is every thing for a government at its outset; and, for that of the Consuls it was immense. Accordingly, money flowed into the treasury, from the treasury to the armies, which, content with these first supplies, waited with patience for those that were promised them by and by. Overawed by a power reputed to be superior to all resistance, the parties submitted: the oppressing parties without claiming a right to oppress any more; the oppressed parties with the confidence that they should no longer be oppressed. The good accomplished, therefore, was no doubt great; but all that time had not yet permitted to be done was added by hope.

One thing was already circulated in all quarters, on the daily report of those who had transacted business with the young Consul; it was said that this soldier, above whom was placed no general of the present time, and scarcely any of past times, was, moreover, a consummate administrator, a profound politician. All the special men with whom he had surrounded him-

self, to whom he had listened with attention, whom he had even enlightened by the justness and the promptness of his views, whom he had besides protected against oppositions of every kind, had not left him without being subjugated, and filled with admiration. This they admitted the more cheerfully, since it had become all at once the fashion to think and to say so. Sometimes we do see false merit succeed for a season in captivating the popular mind, and commanding extravagant admiration; but sometimes also it happens that genuine merit, that genius itself, inspires this sort of caprice, which then becomes a passion. It was but a month since Bonaparte had seized the direction of affairs, and the impression already produced around him by his powerful mind was general and profound. The good-natured Roger-Ducos could talk of nothing else; the humorist Sieyes, little disposed to give way to mere fashion, especially when he was not the favourite of it, acknowledged the superiority, the universality of that genius for government, and paid the purest of homage by leaving it to act. The panegyrists from conviction were joined by those who praised from interest, and who, seeing in General Bonaparte the evident chief of the new Republic, set no bounds to the expression of their enthusiasm. General Bonaparte had among his admirers, and, by the by, very sincere ones, Messrs. de Talleyrand, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, Rœderer, Boulay (de la Meurthe), Defermon, Réal, Dufresne, &c., who everywhere repeated that never were seen such promptness, such decision, such a grasp of mind, or such prodigious activity; and it is very true that what he had already accomplished in one month in all the departments of the government was immense, and, what is rarely the case, that, in this instance, the reality equalled all the inventions of flattery.

In all quarters he was considered as the man to whom the new constitution would attribute the greatest share of the executive power. People desired not a Cromwell; this must be admitted to the honour of the men of that day; and the friends of the general said aloud that the parts of Cæsar and Cromwell were *worn out*, and unworthy of the genius and the virtues of the young saviour of France. What they wished was, that a sufficient concentration of the supreme authority in his hands, with certain guarantees for liberty, should allow him to govern the Republic prosperously and gloriously. Such was the wish of the moderate revolutionists, then the most numerous. The enthusiastic revolutionists, persisting in viewing the young general as a Cromwell or a Cæsar, desired, nevertheless, in order that they might secure their heads, or their national domains, that he should have time to keep off the Bourbons and the Austrians. The royalists begged him to save them from the revolutionists and to reconstitute the supreme power, with some vague hope that he would restore it to them after he had reconstituted it; and they were disposed, in that event, to pay him for the restitu-

tion, were it even with the dignity of constable of Louis XVIII., if it must be so.

Thus all awarded to him the supreme power, more or less completely, for a longer or shorter period, but with different views. The new legislator, Sieyès, had therefore to make a place for him in the new constitution which he was preparing. But M. Sieyès was a dogmatic legislator, labouring for the nature of things, at least so he conceived, and not for circumstances, still less for one man, whoever he might be. The reader may judge of this from what follows.

While his indefatigable colleague was governing, M. Sieyès had at length applied himself to the task that was assigned to him. To give a constitution to France, not one of those ephemeral constitutions, the ridiculous offspring of ignorance and the passions of parties, but a scientific constitution, founded on the observation of societies and the lessons of experience, had been the day-dream of his life. In his solitary and morose meditations he was incessantly engaged upon it. He had pondered over it amidst the sincere but inconsiderate proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, amidst the gloomy frenzy of the Convention, amidst the weaknesses of the Directory. At each epoch he had remodelled his work; he had at length made up his mind, and, his mind once made up, he would not alter any part of his plan. He would not sacrifice a whit of it to the circumstances of the times, not even to the principal character of the day, to General Bonaparte, for whom, however, it was absolutely necessary to prepare a place adapted to the genius and the character of him who was to occupy it.

This singular legislator, always meditating, but seldom writing any more than acting, had never yet committed his constitution to paper. It was in his head, from which it was now requisite that he should draw it forth. This was no easy matter for him, whatever desire he might feel to see it brought forward, and converted into law. He was urgently pressed to make it known, and at length decided to communicate his ideas to one of his friends, M. Boulay de la Meurthe, who undertook to write it down from the conversations which they should have together. In this manner that remarkable conception was gradually collected with accuracy, and preserved for posterity, of which it is worthy.

M. Sieyès had made a powerful effort of mind to reconcile the Republic and the monarchy; he had borrowed freely from each such points as were useful and necessary; but, while borrowing from them, he had violently distrusted both. He had taken infinite precautions against the demagogue spirit, on the one hand, and against the royal power, on the other. He had thus produced a scientific and complicated work, but in which every thing was so nicely balanced that if it were a scientific and complicated work, compact enough as a whole,

but which, if modified for and by General Bonaparte, or deprived of one of its counterpoises, might, contrary to the intention of its author, lead to nothing short of despotism.

The first care of M. Sieyès in his combinations had been to guard against demagogue passions. Without stripping the nation completely of that immense participation in public affairs, which it had enjoyed so unfortunately for itself, he wished to leave to it a power which it could not abuse. An expression, which, for the first time, perhaps, was in every mouth, that of *representative government*, conveys an accurate idea of the feeling afloat at this period. It was understood by this expression that the nation was to take part in its government, only by intermediate persons, that is to say, that it was to be *represented*; and, as we shall soon see, it was but very indirectly that it was intended to be so.

The elections under the Directory had brought in by turns the royalists at one period, the Jacobins at another, and it had been found expedient to exclude by violence the former on the 18th of Fructidor, the latter on the 22d of Floréal. Thus the system of elections, and especially of direct elections, had become highly suspicious to every body. Perhaps, if the government had ventured to reduce the total number of the electors to one hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand, it might have tried to brave once more the electoral agitations. But an electoral body, reduced to about the proportions of ours, would have given offence but not security to the public. Two hundred thousand electors granted to a nation, which had recently enjoyed universal suffrage, would have appeared an aristocracy; and at the same time electors, how small soever their number, choosing directly their representatives, with liberty to give way to all the passions of the moment, would have appeared a renewal of the continual reactions which had been witnessed under the Directory. A direct but restricted mode of election, such as now exists among us, was, therefore, out of the question. M. Sieyès, with his habitual dogmatism, had made a maxim for himself. "Confidence," said he, "must come from below, and power from above." To realise this maxim, he had accordingly devised the system of national representation which we are about to describe.

Every person of the age of twenty-one years, having the quality of Frenchman, was to be obliged, if he wished to enjoy his rights, to get his name entered in a list called the Civic Register. This might give a total of five or six million citizens admitted to the exercise of their political rights. They were to meet by arrondissements (this circumscription, which did not then exist, was to be proposed,) and to choose one-tenth of their number. This designation of one-tenth would produce a first list of five or six hundred thousand persons. These five or six hundred thousand persons, meeting, in their turn, by depart-

ments, and again choosing one-tenth from among themselves, were called to form a second list, comprehending fifty or sixty thousand citizens. These proceeded to a third selection, and reducing themselves again to one-tenth, formed the last list, which was limited to five or six thousand candidates. These three lists were called lists of notability.

The first, of five or six hundred thousand persons, was called the list of the communal notability; from it were to be taken the members of the municipal administrations, those of the councils of arrondissement, and other administrators on a par with them, such as the maires, the functionaries whom we now call sub-prefects, the judges of first instance, &c. The second list, of fifty or sixty thousand persons, was called the list of the departmental notability, and from this were to be chosen the members of the departmental councils, the functionaries since called prefects, the judges of appeal; in short, all the functionaries of that order. The last and third list, of five or six thousand persons, constituted the list of the national notability; and from this were to be taken, obligatorily, all the members of the Legislative Body, all the functionaries of the higher order, councillors of state, ministers, judges of the Court of Cassation, &c., &c. M. Sieyès, borrowing a figure from geometry, to afford an idea of this national representation—broad at the base, narrow at the top—called it a pyramid.

Thus we see that, without attributing to the nation the right of choosing itself the delegates charged to represent it, or the functionaries charged to govern it, M. Sieyès confined his ingenuity to the formation of a list of candidates, from which were to be selected both the representatives of the country and the agents of the Executive. Every year the mass of the citizens were to assemble for the purpose of erasing from these lists those names that were not worthy to appear there, and to replace them by others. It is to be remarked that if, on the one hand, this power of designation was extremely indirect; on the other, it comprehended not only the members of the deliberative assemblies, but the executive functionaries themselves. This is less and more than what is usually to be found in the monarchical representative system. However, the agents called to perform functions purely special, and not implying any political confidence, such, for instance, as those belonging to the financial department, or agents called to perform functions so difficult that merit, when it is met with, ought to be taken wherever it may be found, such as generals and ambassadors—these agents were not to be chosen obligatorily from the lists of the notability.

We have shown how M. Sieyès, carrying out his maxim, made "confidence come from below:" let us now explain how he made "power descend from above."

Under the influence of the impressions of the day, he

dreaded election, because he had recently seen passionate electors choose representatives as passionate as they were themselves. He renounced it therefore, and intended that, in these lists of notability formed by the public confidence, the legislative power, and the executive power, should be authorised to designate their own members, and thus constitute themselves. He imposed on them no other limit than that of selecting from the lists of notability. But, before we explain the mode of formation of the powers, we must describe their organisation.

The legislative power was to be organised as follows: firstly, the Legislative Body, properly so called, placed between two opposite bodies, the Tribunate and the Council of State; secondly, apart and above, the Conservative Senate.

The Legislative Body was to be composed of three hundred members, who were to hear the laws discussed, not themselves to discuss them, and to vote silently. How, and between whom the discussion took place, is now to be shown.

A body of one hundred members, called the Tribunate, charged to represent in this constitution the liberal, innovating, spirit of inquiry, received communication of the laws, discussed them in public, and voted, merely to decide whether it should advocate their adoption or rejection before the Legislative Body. It was then to appoint three of its members, to support before the Legislative Body the opinion which had prevailed in its own bosom.

A Council of State, the origin of that which now exists, but superior in importance and in attributions, was attached to the government, to draw up the proposed laws; it presented them to the Legislative Body, and sent three of its members to discuss them in opposition to the orators of the Tribunate. Thus the Council of State pleading *for*, the Tribunate *against* (that is to say, if the latter had disapproved the law), the Legislative Body voted in silence the adoption or rejection. Its vote alone gave the character of law to the propositions of the government. The Council of State was moreover to complete the laws by appending the regulations necessary for their execution.

Lastly came the Senate. This body, composed of one hundred members, took no part in these legislative labours. It was charged, spontaneously, or on the denunciation of the Tribunate, to annul any law or any act of government which should appear to it to be tainted with *unconstitutionality*. For this reason it was called *Conservative* Senate. It was to be composed of men who had attained mature age, excluded, by the mere fact of their belonging to the Senate, from all active functions, being consequently confined exclusively to their part of conservators and having a considerable interest in performing it well, for M. Sieyès intended that a handsome salary should be attached to it.

Such were the attributions of the deliberative powers. Here follows their mode of formation.

The Senate composed itself by electing its own members out of the list of the national notability. It nominated also the members of the Legislative Body, of the Tribunate, and of the Court of Cassation, choosing them by ballot out of that same list of the national notability.

The executive power was likewise the author of its own formation, by choosing all its agents out of whichever of the three lists of notability corresponded with the offices that were to be filled up. It took the ministers, the councillors of State, in short, the superior agents, from the list of the national notability. From the list of the departmental notability it took, in the first place, the councillors of department, who, like the councillors of State, were considered as purely administrative authorities; it also took from it the prefects and the functionaries of each department; and, lastly, from the list of the communal notability, it selected the municipal councils, the maires, and all the functionaries of the like order.

Thus, as M. Sieyès designed, "confidence came from below, power came from above."

But as, above the legislative power there was a supreme creator, namely the Senate, so there was required, above the executive power, a supreme creator, that should appoint the ministers, who were then to appoint the functionaries, down to the lowest step of the hierarchy. At the head of this executive power, then, there was to be a generative power. M. Sieyès had given its possessor a name analogous to his function; he had called him the Grand Elector. This supreme magistrate was confined exclusively to one act: he was to choose two superior agents, the only ones of their rank and kind, called, the one Consul of peace, the other Consul of war. These then nominated the ministers, who, under their personal responsibility, selected all the agents of power from the lists of notability, governed, administered, in short, managed the affairs of the State.

A magnificent existence was destined for this Grand Elector. He was the generative principle of the government, and he was likewise the outward representative of it. That inaction to which M. Sieyès purposed to confine the Senators, to ensure their impartiality, and to which he had attached a yearly revenue of 100,000 livres in national domains,—that inaction, imposed upon the Grand Elector from a similar motive, was to be accompanied with a much more splendid income than that of the Senators, for his vocation was to represent the entire Republic. M. Sieyès was for assigning him a salary of six millions (240,000*l.*), magnificent residences, such as the Tuileries in Paris, and Versailles in the country, besides a guard of 3000 men. It was in his name that justice was to be administered, that the laws were to

be promulgated, and the acts of government executed. It was to him that the foreign ministers were to be accredited, and with his signature that the treaties with foreign powers were to be provided. In short, he united with the important function of choosing the two active heads of the government the splendour, call it vain, if you please, of outward state: in him was to glitter all the luxury of a polished, elegant, and magnificent nation.

This Grand Elector himself must be supplied either by election or by hereditary succession. In the latter case, he would be a king, and monarchy would be re-established in France. But this M. Sieyès, whether he wished it or not, would not have ventured openly to propose. He therefore assigned to the most impartial of the bodies of the State, the Senate, the election of this supreme magistrate, who himself was placed so high solely that he might be as impartial as possible in his two selections.

A last formidable clause completed this complex machine.

The Senate, which had the power to annul any unconstitutional act, law, or measure of the government, was endowed moreover with the faculty of removing the Grand Elector from his functions by nominating him senator against his will. This was what M. Sieyès called *absorbing*. The Senate might pursue the same course in regard to any citizen, whose importance or whose talents gave umbrage to the Republic. Thus there were given to the citizen doomed to compulsory inaction by *absorption* into the Senate,—there were given to him, by way of indemnification, the importance, the well-paid idleness, of the members of a body which could not act of itself, but which could, by its *veto*, prevent all action whatsoever.

In this singular but profound conception, who can fail to discover an image, faint, indistinct, perhaps designed to be so, of representative monarchy? This Legislative Body, this Senate, this Grand Elector, were virtually a lower house, an upper house, a king, the whole resting upon a sort of universal suffrage, but with such precautions that democracy, aristocracy, royalty, admitted into this constitution, were no sooner admitted than nullified by it. Those lists of notability, from which the deliberative bodies and the executive functionaries were alike to be selected, what were they but universal suffrage,—universal, but null? for they formed so vast a circle of candidateship, that the obligation to choose from this circle was an absolute power of election granted to the government and to the Senate. That mute Legislative Body, listening to the discussion of the law, but taking no part itself in that discussion, having at its side the Tribunate, and whose mission it was to oppose in debate the Council of State, was but a sort of house of Commons cut in two, one half having the right of voting, the other that of speaking, and both nullified by this very separation; for the first was liable to fall asleep in the silence, the second to ex-

haust itself in barren debates. That Senate, nominating itself and all the deliberative bodies, nominating the head of the executive power, and, if need were, absorbing him into its bosom; that Senate, possessing all this power, but deprived of active functions, taking no part in new laws, but merely authorised to annul any that were unconstitutional; that Senate, reduced to a sort of inaction, that it might be the more disinterested, and animated solely by the sentiment of conservation; that Senate was an ingenious but exaggerated imitation of a titled aristocracy, taking little part in the movement of affairs, sometimes checking it by its *veto*, and receiving into its bosom the men who, after a stormy career, gladly seek repose amidst a grave, influential, and honoured body. Lastly, that Grand Elector was nothing but royalty, confined to the nearly inactive yet important part of choosing the acting chiefs of the government; it was royalty, but with infinite precautions against its origin and its duration, for it issued from the urn of the Senate, and might, upon occasion, be flung back into it again. In short, that universal suffrage, that Legislative Body, that Tribunate, that Senate, that Grand Elector, thus constituted, weakened, neutralised, the one by the other, attested a prodigious effort of the human mind, in order to combine all the known forms of government in one constitution, but for the purpose of afterwards annulling them by dint of precautions.

Representative monarchy, it must be confessed, has, with less trouble and effort, by trusting more to human nature, procured, for two centuries past, an animated but not subversive liberty, for one of the first nations of the world. Simple and natural in its means, the British constitution admits of royalty, aristocracy, and democracy; then, after admitting them, it suffers them to act freely, imposing upon them no other condition but to govern by common consent. It does not limit the king to this or that act; it does not draw him forth by election, to plunge him back afterwards; it does not debar the peers from active functions; it does not deprive the elective assembly of speech; it does not grant universal suffrage, to render it null afterwards by rendering it indirect; it allows royalty and aristocracy to spring from their natural source, hereditary succession; it admits of a king, of hereditary peers, but, on the other hand, it leaves the nation to choose directly, according to its tastes or its passions of the day, an assembly which, empowered to grant or to refuse to royalty the means of governing, thus obliges it to take for directing chiefs of the government those men who have contrived to gain the public confidence. All that Sieyès, the legislator, was in search of, was here accomplished almost infallibly. Royalty, aristocracy, act no more than he wished; they merely moderate too rapid an impulsion: the elective chamber, full of the passions of the country, but checked by two other powers, chooses, in fact, the real leaders of the State,

raises them to the government, upholds them in it, or overthrows them, if they have ceased to correspond with its sentiments. Here is a simple, a true constitution, because it is the production of nature and of time, and not, like that of M. Sieyès, the scientific but artificial work of a mind disgusted with monarchy by the reign of the last Bourbons, and filled with dread of a republic by ten years of storms.

Now, let us suppose the times more calm; let us suppose this constitution of M. Sieyès put peaceably in practice, at a period when the need of a powerful hand, like that of General Bonaparte, would not have over-ruled all other considerations; let us suppose that vast notability established, that Senate freely drawing from its own bosom the bodies of the State, and the head of the government, what would have happened? Ere long the nation would have ceased to take any interest in the renewal of the lists, which would be but an impotent medium for expressing its sentiments; these lists would have become almost permanent; the Senate would have selected from them, at its pleasure, the bodies of the State and the Grand Elector; and, nominating the head of the executive power, having authority to remove him at any moment, holding him in absolute dependence, it would have been nearly every thing; it would have been—what?—the Venetian aristocracy, with its golden book, with its pompous and impotent doge, charged every year to marry the Adriatic Sea—a curious spectacle, and worthy of contemplation! M. Sieyès, a man of profound and elevated mind, sincerely attached to the liberty of his country, had, in ten years, run round that circle of agitations, terrors, and disgusts, which had led most of the republics of the middle ages, and the most celebrated of them, that of Venice, to the golden book and a nominal chief. He had arrived at last at the Venetian aristocracy, constituted for the benefit of the men of the Revolution, since it attributed, for ten years, to those who had exercised functions since 1789, the privilege of figuring by right in the lists of notability; and he purposed, moreover, to reserve for himself and for three or four principal personages of the day the faculty of composing, for the first time, all the bodies of the State.

But aristocracy is not to be created off-hand; despotism alone is. That harassed society could not find repose but in the arms of a powerful chief. In this extraordinary Constitution every thing was admired, every thing admitted, every thing excepting the Grand Elector, with his magnificent income, and apparently nothing to do. In his stead was substituted an energetic and active chief, General Bonaparte; and, by the change of a single spring, this Constitution was destined, without any participation of its author, to lead to the imperial despotism, which, with a Conservative Senate, with a mute Legislative Body, we have seen governing France for fifteen years, in a glorious but arbitrary manner.

When M. Sieyès had, with great effort, contrived to draw forth all these combinations from the recesses of his mind, where they had long been, as it were, buried, he laid them before his friend, M. Boulay de la Meurthe, who committed them to paper, and before various members of the two legislative commissions, by whom they were communicated to those around them. The two legislative commissions had divided into sections, and in each of the two was a section of the Constitution. To these two united sections M. Sieyès, when he could make himself master of his ideas, explained his system. That system struck and astonished every one by the novelty, the singularity, and the infinite art of the combinations.

In the first place, the interests of the auditors of M. Sieyès were not overlooked; for he had, as we have observed, adopted a transitory disposition, which was absolutely necessary. With a view to save the Revolution, by keeping in power the men who had been actors in it, he proposed a resolution nearly resembling that by which the Convention had perpetuated itself in the two Councils of the Ancients and the Five Hundred. He proposed that all the men who, since 1789, had exercised public functions, who had been members of the different assemblies, legislative, departmental, or municipal, should have a right to be entered in the lists of notability, and that these lists should not be made up afresh for ten years. Moreover, Messrs. Sieyès, Roger-Ducos, and General Bonaparte, were to appoint, for the first time, the members of the bodies of the State, in virtue of the right which they attributed to themselves of framing the new Constitution. This disposition was bold, but indispensable; for, it is to be observed, that all the new men who came in by means of the elections, animated with a spirit of reaction then general, indulging, moreover, the ordinary propensity to censure what one has not done, openly expressed a detestation of the acts and the men of the Revolution, even when they held its principles. M. Sieyès had, therefore, taken his precautions against the necessity for a new 18th of Fructidor, by ensuring for ten years the putting in practice his Constitution by hands of which he was sure. The ideas of M. Sieyès were suited to all interests. Every one already thought that he was certain of being a senator, legislator, councillor of State, or tribune; and to these charges liberal salaries were attached.

But, setting interest aside, the combinations seemed equally new and skilful. Men are easily filled with enthusiasm for military genius; but they as readily conceive an enthusiasm for what has the appearance of depth of mind. Sieyès, the legislator, had his enthusiasts, as well as General Bonaparte had his. The lists of notability appeared the happiest of combinations, especially in the state of discredit into which the elective system had fallen, since the elections which returned the *Clichyans*, excluded by the revolution of Fructidor, and the Jacobins, excluded by means

of the *scissions*. The idea of a Council of State and a Tribunate maintaining opposite sides of each question, before a mute Legislative Body, pleased persons weary of discussions, and urgently demanding repose. The Senate, placed so high, and moreover so useful for preserving harmony, had the power to get rid of eminent and dangerous citizens by ostracism: all this found numerous admirers.

The Grand Elector alone appeared a singularity to men who, having not yet reflected much on the English Constitution, did not comprehend a magistracy, limited to the sole duty of choosing the superior agents of the government. They thought that there was too little power for a king, and too much state and pomp for the mere president of a republic. In short, every body agreed that the place was not adapted to him who was to fill it, namely, General Bonaparte. This place had too much shadow, and too little real power; too much shadow, because it was necessary to avoid alarming the public, by making the return to monarchy too manifest; too little real power, because an almost unlimited authority was needed by the man who was charged to reorganize France. Certain minds, incapable of comprehending the disinterestedness of a profound thinker, who had studied only to make his conceptions harmonize together, and not to combine the springs of his Constitution in a personal interest, these persons affirmed that the Grand Elector could not have been invented for so active a character as General Bonaparte; that, of course, M. Sieyès could have devised it only for himself; that he reserved for himself this place, and destined that of Consul of war for his young colleague. This was a paltry and malicious conjecture. With great power of thought, M. Sieyès combined remarkable shrewdness of observation, and he had too just a conception of his own personal position, and that of the conqueror of Italy, to imagine that he himself could be that kind of elective king, and General Bonaparte merely his minister. In this he had obeyed solely the spirit of system. Other interpreters, less malevolent, believed, in their turn, that M. Sieyès did actually destine the post of Grand Elector for General Bonaparte, but with a view to tie his hands, and, above all, to cause him to be speedily *absorbed* by the Conservative Senate. The friends of liberty were not displeased with him for it. The partisans of General Bonaparte could not speak of this device of the Grand Elector without inveighing against it; and among them Lucien Bonaparte, who alternately crossed or served the head of his family, but always capriciously, without consistency or discretion; sometimes acting the part of a brother, passionately promoting the greatness of his brother; at others, the citizen hostile to despotism, Lucien Bonaparte declaimed with violence against the plan of M. Sieyès. He loudly declared that there needed a president of the Republic, a Council of State, and very little more; that the country was tired of

babblers, and wanted only men of action. These inconsiderate speeches were of a nature to produce the most mischievous effect; but, fortunately, no great importance was attached to the words of Lucien.

Amidst his incessant occupations, General Bonaparte had heard the rumours circulated around him respecting the plan of M. Sieyès. He left his colleague to proceed, in accordance with a sort of division of attributions agreed upon between them; and he declined meddling with the Constitution till the time should arrive for digesting it definitively, promising himself, no doubt, to accommodate to his liking the place that was destined for him. The reports, however, which reached him from all quarters, at last irritated him, and he expressed his displeasure with his usual warmth of language—a warmth which was to be regretted, and which he was not always master of.

The disapprobation which he expressed respecting some of the ideas of the plan of the Constitution reached the author. M. Sieyès was deeply pained by it. He was, in fact, afraid that, having lost, from the ignorance and violence of preceding times, the opportunity of becoming the legislator of France, he should lose it once more through the despotic humour of the colleague he had given himself in effecting the 18th of Brumaire. Though a stranger to intrigue, and destitute of activity, he bestirred himself more than ever to gain, one by one, the members of the two legislative sections.

Meanwhile, his friend, M. Boulay de la Meurthe, and two intimate friends of General Bonaparte's, Messrs. Rœderer and de Talleyrand, anxious to preserve harmony between two so important personages, actively exerted themselves to reconcile them. M. Boulay de la Meurthe had accepted the commission to transcribe the ideas of M. Sieyès, and had thus become the confidant of his plan. M. Rœderer was an old Constituent, a clever man, a genuine politician after the fashion of the eighteenth century, very fond of reasoning about the origin and organization of societies, and framing plans of constitutions, adding to this very decided monarchical predilections. M. de Talleyrand, capable of comprehending and appreciating minds, even the most contrary to his own, was alike touched by the acting genius of young Bonaparte, and the speculative genius of Sieyès, the philosopher; he had a bias for both. He thought, besides, that these two men had need of one another, and earnestly strove to promote the success of the affairs of the new government. Messrs. Boulay de la Meurthe, Rœderer, and de Talleyrand therefore, exerted themselves to reconcile the general and the legislator. An interview was prepared; it was to take place at General Bonaparte's, in presence of Messrs. Rœderer and de Talleyrand. It contributed but very little to mend the matter. General Bonaparte was under the impression

of the reports made to him concerning the Grand Elector, inactive, and liable to be absorbed by the Senate; M. Sieyès was soured by the condemnatory expressions which were attributed to the general, and which had been, no doubt, exaggerated. They met in the worst humour, did nothing but disagree, and used the bitterest language to one another. M. Sieyès, who needed composure for explaining his ideas, did not develop them, on this occasion, with sufficient clearness and coherence. General Bonaparte, on his part, was abrupt and impatient. They inveighed against each other, and parted almost at enmity.

The mediators, in alarm, renewed their efforts to repair the ill effect of this interview. They told M. Sieyès that he ought to discuss with patience, to take pains to convince the general, and, above all, to concede some points; they said to the general that, in this case, more forbearance than he exercised was required; that, without the support of M. Sieyès, and his authority over the Council of the Ancients, General Bonaparte would never have been able to obtain, on the 18th of Brumaire, the decree which had put power into his hand; that M. Sieyès, as a political personage, had immense influence with the public; and that, in case of a conflict between the legislator and the general, many would declare in favour of the legislator, as the representative of the Revolution and of liberty, oppressed by a soldier. The first moment was not favourable for attempting a reconciliation; it was necessary to wait a while. Messrs. Boulay de la Meurthe and Rœderer devised fresh models of executive power, which should remove the two difficulties on which General Bonaparte appeared inflexible—the inaction of the Grand Elector, and the threat of ostracism suspended over his head. They first thought of a Consul, with two colleagues to assist him; then of a Grand Elector, as M. Sieyès had projected, who should nominate the two Consuls of peace and of war, but also attend their deliberations, and decide between them. This was not enough to satisfy General Bonaparte, and it was a great deal too much for M. Sieyès, whose plan was thus overthrown. Whenever it was proposed to M. Sieyès to make the head of the executive power participate in the government, "It is a bit of the ancient monarchy," he would say, "that you want to give me. I won't have it." In fact, he would hear nothing but the royalty of England, minus the title of king, irremoveability, and hereditary succession. This was still very far from the mark, and M. Sieyès, with that promptness of discouragement incident, to speculative minds, when they find obstacles thrown in their way by the nature of things, M. Sieyès said that he would have nothing further to do with the matter; that he would quit Paris, retire to the country, and leave young Bonaparte alone, with his nascent despotism revealed to every eye. "He means to go?" said the general; "let him. I will get a Constitution drawn up by Rœderer, propose it to

the two legislative sections, and satisfy public opinion, which requires the affair to be settled." He deceived himself when he talked in that manner, for it was still too early to show France his sword quite unsheathed; he would have met with unexpected resistance in more quarters than one.

Nevertheless, these two men, who, in spite of their instinctive dislike, had managed to agree for a moment to consummate the 18th of Brumaire, were destined to come to an understanding once more to make a constitution. The reports which were circulated had roused the legislative commissions; they knew what language Lucien Bonaparte held; how decided a tone the general took upon the subject; what a disposition to relinquish every thing was manifested by M. Sieyès. They said to themselves, and very justly, that, after all, it was on them the task of framing a constitution properly devolved; that they ought to do their duty, draw up a plan, present it to the Consuls, and force them to agree, after effecting a reasonable compromise between them.

They accordingly fell to work; and, as the ideas of M. Sieyès had been communicated to some of the members of the commission, and had been approved by these, they adopted his plan as the basis of theirs. To a systematic mind, the adoption of all its ideas save one causes it almost as much vexation as the rejection of the whole. To take the plan of M. Sieyès for the basis of the new Constitution, was, nevertheless, an important concession. He began, at length, to grow somewhat calmer; and General Bonaparte, seeing the commissions apply themselves to their task, and prosecute it resolutely, became himself a great deal milder. This moment was seized for a new attempt at reconciliation. A second interview took place between M. Sieyès and the general, at which Messrs. Boulay de la Meurthe, Rœderer, and de Talleyrand, were present. This time the two principal interlocutors were more calm, and more disposed to agree. Instead of jostling one another as before, by dwelling, in preference, on the points upon which they disagreed, they strove, on the contrary, to arrive at a better understanding, by introducing those topics only upon which their opinions chimed. M. Sieyès was moderate and full of tact; the general displayed his usual good sense and originality of mind. The subject of their conversation was the state of France, the vices of the preceding constitutions, and the precautions to be taken in a new constitution to prevent the past disorders. On all this they could not fail to agree. They separated, therefore, pleased with one another; and they promised, as soon as the sections had finished their work, to call them together, for the purpose of adopting or modifying their propositions, and, at length, relinquishing the provisional system, which began to displease every body. M. Sieyès had thenceforward the certainty that, excepting his Grand Elector, and some attributions of the Conserva-

tive Senate, he should carry the adoption of his entire Constitution.

In the first ten days of Frimaire (from the 20th of November to the 1st of December) the sections had completed their plan. General Bonaparte summoned them to his residence, to meetings at which the Consuls were to be present. Some members of the sections thought this convocation not very consistent with their dignity; and yet, having made up their minds to pass over many difficulties, to concede much to the man who was so necessary, they complied with the summons.

The sittings commenced immediately. At the first, M. Sieyès was charged to communicate his plan, since that plan was the very foundation of the work of the commissions. This he did with a force of thought and language which produced the strongest impression on his hearers. "All this is fine and profound," said the general; "yet there are several points which deserve serious discussion. But let us proceed regularly; let us consider consecutively the different parts of the plan, and choose a secretary. Citizen Daunou, take the pen." Thus it was that M. Daunou became the compiler of the new Constitution. This labour occupied several sittings, and the following resolutions were agreed upon.

The lists of the communal, departmental, and national notability were successively adopted. They were too well calculated to neutralise the popular action, by rendering it indirect, not to suit the apprehensions of the moment, and the notions of General Bonaparte. Two accessory provisions, the one conformable, the other contrary, to the ideas of M. Sieyès, were adopted. It was decided that the functionaries of every kind should not be obligatorily chosen from the lists of notability, unless when the Constitution should have designated them by name. No objection, indeed, was made to the selection of the members of the deliberative bodies, the consuls, the ministers, the judges, the administrators, from these lists; but generals, ambassadors! that appeared exorbitant. The second decision was relative, not to the groundwork of the plan, but to the necessity of adapting it to the then state of things. Instead of putting off the reformation of the lists for ten years, it was deferred to the year IX, that is to say, for one year; and it was agreed that all the members of the great bodies of the State should be nominated immediately by an act of the constituent power, and that the persons so nominated should be entered as of right in the first lists. The revision, instead of being annual, was to be triennial.

They next proceeded to the organisation of the great powers. The maxim of M. Sieyès, "confidence ought to come from below, power ought to come from above," entirely prevailed. The right of electing was placed above; but with the obligation to choose out of the lists of notability. The Senate of M. Sieyès

was adopted, as well as the Legislative Body, placed between the Council of State and the Tribunate. The Senate was to choose from the lists of notability, in the first place the senators themselves, then the members of the Legislative Body, of the Tribunate, of the Court of Cassation, of the Commission of Accountability (since Court of Accounts), and, lastly, the chief or chiefs of the executive power. However, the Senate—and this was a considerable limitation of its attributions—was to nominate the senators only upon the presentation of three candidates, one proposed by the Consuls, another by the Legislative Body, and the third by the Tribunate. As for the Council of State, this body, forming part of the executive power, was to be nominated by that power. Besides the faculty of making the most important nominations, the Senate received the supreme attribution of repealing laws or acts of the government tainted with unconstitutionality. For the rest, it was not to have any part in the making of the laws; and its members could not exercise active functions.

The Legislative Body, mute, agreeably to the plan of M. Sieyès, was to listen to the contradictory arguments of three councillors of State and three tribunes, and then to vote, without discussion, on the propositions of the government.

The Tribunate alone had the faculty of publicly discussing the laws; but it was to vote merely for the purpose of deciding what opinion it should support before the Legislative Body. Its vote, even negative, did not prevent the law from being law, if the Legislative Body had adopted it. The Tribunate had not the initiative of legal propositions; but it could express its wishes; it received petitions, and transmitted them to the different authorities whom they concerned.

The Senate was to consist of 80 members instead of 100, as M. Sieyès at first desired: 60 to be nominated immediately, 20 in the course of the ensuing ten years. The Legislative Body was to be composed of 300 members, the Tribunate of 100. The Senators were to enjoy a salary of 25,000 francs per annum; the legislators 10,000; the tribunes 15,000. So far the plan of M. Sieyès was adopted entire, excepting some limitations in the authority of the Senate. But this plan was destined to undergo considerable modification in the organization of the executive power.

This was the capital point, and on this General Bonaparte was inflexible. M. Sieyès, already resigned to the rejection of this part of his plan, was nevertheless invited to explain his ideas. Accordingly, he proposed the institution of the Grand Elector before the assembled commissions. No one, it must be admitted, not even General Bonaparte, had then reflected sufficiently on the organization of the powers in a free government, to comprehend the profundity of that conception, and to discover the analogy which it presented with the king of

the English monarchy. But General Bonaparte, had he turned his mind to the consideration of the question in this point of view, would not have assented to it on any account, from motives purely personal, and which it is easy to comprehend. He criticised with sarcastic humour this Grand Elector. Concerning his splendid idleness he said what all kings say, only with less wit than he, and less foundation; for, in presence of a subverted society to reorganize, of sanguinary factions to quell, of the world to conquer, it was excusable to wish to reserve for himself the full and free employment of his genius. But if, in these first days of the Consulate, when there were so many things to be done, he was perhaps right in not suffering his talents to be fettered; afterwards, sublime victim of misfortune at St. Helena, he must have regretted the liberty that was given him to exercise them without restraint. Cramped in the employment of his faculties, undoubtedly he would not have achieved such mighty things, but he would not have attempted such extravagant things; and his sceptre and his sword would probably have remained till his death in his glorious hands.

"Your Grand Elector," said he to M. Sieyès, "is a do-nothing king, and the time of do-nothing kings is gone by. What man of head and heart would submit to such a sluggish life, at the price of six millions and an abode in the Tuileries? What! nominate persons who act and not act oneself! it is inadmissible. And, then, you think by this device to prevent your Grand Elector from intermeddling in the government. Were I this Grand Elector, I would nevertheless engage to do all that you wished me not to do. I would say to the two consuls of peace and war, 'If you do not choose such a person, or if you do not take such a measure, I will turn you out.' And I would soon oblige them to act as I pleased. I would make myself master again in a round-about way."

Here General Bonaparte himself, with his usual sagacity, penetrated the truth, and discovered that this inaction of the Grand Elector was not a state of nullity; for this supreme magistrate had, at certain moments, the means of reappearing omnipotent in the arena where the parties were disputing for power, by coming to withdraw it from the one for the purpose of conferring it on the other. But this superintendence of English royalty over the government could not suit that ardent young man; and he must be pardoned for it, for this was neither the place nor the time for constitutional royalty.

The Grand Elector perished under the sarcasms of the young general, and under a power much greater than that of sarcasms, the power of present necessity. At that time, a real dictatorship was, in fact, required, and the authority attributed to the Grand Elector was far from adequate to the wants of the moment.

There was another part of the institution proposed by M.

Sieyès which General Bonaparte as decidedly rejected, because he could not help regarding it as a snare: this was the faculty of absorption assigned to the Senate, not only in regard to the Grand Elector, but to every eminent citizen whose greatness might give umbrage.

The general would not consent that, after several years' eminent services, any one should have the power to bury him alive in the bosom of the Senate, and to reduce him to forced idleness, for a pension of 25,000 francs. He obtained satisfaction on this new point; and the executive power was definitively organized in the following manner.

It was agreed to institute a First Consul, accompanied by two others, to disguise in some measure the omnipotence of the former. This First Consul had the direct and sole nomination of the members of the general administration of the Republic, of the members of the departmental and municipal Councils, of the administrators since called prefects and sub-prefects, of the municipal agents, &c. He had the nomination of all military and naval officers, of the councillors of State, of the ministers sent to foreign powers, of the civil and criminal judges, excepting the *juges de paix* and the members of the Court of Cassation. He could not depose the judges when once appointed: irremoveability was therefore substituted to election, as a guarantee of independence.

Besides the nomination of the administrative officers, military and judicial, the First Consul had the entire government, the direction of war and diplomacy; he signed treaties, without prejudice to their discussion and adoption by the Legislative Body, in the same form as laws. In these various functions he was to be assisted by the two other Consuls, who had merely a consultative voice, but who could record their opinion in a register of deliberations kept for that purpose. Evidently, those two Consuls were placed there to mask the immense authority assigned to General Bonaparte—an authority, the duration of which was pretty long, and might even become perpetual; for the three Consuls were elected for ten years, and, moreover, indefinitely re-eligible. A vestige of the *absorption* devised by M. Sieyès was retained. The First Consul, on quitting office, by resignation or otherwise, became a senator in full right, that is to say, was thenceforward excluded from public functions. The two other Consuls, not having exercised the plenitude of power, were at liberty to refuse this well-endowed but nullifying appointment, and were not to become senators unless they consented to be so.

The First Consul was to have an annual allowance of 500,000 francs (20,000*l.* sterling), and each of the others of 150,000 francs (6,000*l.* sterling). All three were to reside in the Tuileries. A consular guard was to attend them.

Such were the principal provisions of the famous Consti-

tution of the year VIII. Thus M. Sieyès saw the attributions of the Senate curtailed, and an all-powerful chief substituted for his inactive Grand Elector; which caused his Constitution to lead, a few years later, not to aristocracy but to despotism.

This Constitution comprehended no declaration of rights, but, by means of some general provisions, it guaranteed individual liberty, the inviolability of the citizen's dwelling, the responsibility of ministers, and that of the inferior agents, without prejudice, in the case of the latter, to the previous approbation of prosecution by the Council of State. It stipulated that a law might, in certain departments, and in certain extraordinary cases, suspend the action of the Constitution, which was equivalent to what we have since called, putting in a state of siege. It ensured pensions to the widows and children of soldiers, and lastly, by a sort of reversion to ideas long proscribed, it laid down as a principle that national rewards might be granted to men who should have rendered eminent services. This was the germ of an institution since celebrated: that of the Legion of Honour.

The plan of M. Sieyès contained two forcible and admirable ideas, both of which have been retained in our administrative organization; the division of the country into arrondissements and the Council of State.

Thus M. Sieyès was the author of all the administrative circumscriptions of France. He had already conceived the division into departments and induced its adoption; he wished on this occasion that the cantonal administrations, which existed to the number of five thousand, should be superseded by administrations of arrondissement, which, much less numerous, were a more convenient intermediate between the commune and the department. The principle only was laid down in the Constitution; but it was agreed that a law should ere long reform, upon this principle, the administrative system in France, and put an end to the communal anarchy, a melancholy picture of which has been given above. There was to be a tribunal of first instance for each arrondissement, and a tribunal of appeal for several united departments.

The second of the creations of M. Sieyès, which belongs exclusively to himself, is the Council of State, a deliberative body attached to the executive power, preparing the laws, supporting them before the legislative power, adding to them the regulations which ought to accompany the laws, and rendering the laws administrative. This is the most practical of his conceptions, and, with the preceding, it must outlive the present and subsist in future times. To the honour of this legislator be it said, Time has swept away all the ephemeral Constitutions of the Revolution, but the only parts of these Constitutions which have survived have been his work.

It was not enough to settle the dispositions of the new Con-

stitution; it was indispensable to add to it the *personnel* of the powers, to seek it in the men of the Revolution, and even to designate it in the constitutional act. It was requisite, therefore, after determining all the dispositions that have just been enumerated, to direct attention to the choice of the persons.

General Bonaparte was nominated First Consul for ten years. It cannot be said that he was chosen, so strongly was he indicated by the situation: he was accepted from the hands of victory and necessity. His position once fixed, the next point was to find one for M. Sieyès. This great personage had little turn for business, and still less for secondary parts. It did not suit him to be the assistant of young Bonaparte, and he refused, in consequence, to be second Consul. We shall see presently what place more conformable to his character was assigned to him. For second Consul was chosen M. Cambacérès, an eminent lawyer, who had acquired high importance among the political characters of the time by great knowledge, prudence, and tact. He was at this period minister of justice. M. Lebrun, a distinguished writer, who had drawn up the Maupeou edicts, classed, under the old government, among the men disposed to wise reforms, ever faithful to the cause of moderate Revolution, well versed in financial matters, and too mild to be a troublesome contradictor, M. Lebrun was selected for third Consul. M. Cambacérès could ably second General Bonaparte in the administration of justice; M. Lebrun could be a useful assistant to him in the administration of the finances; and both could aid him essentially without crossing him in any way. It was impossible to associate more suitably the men destined to compose the new government; and from these appointments were to flow all the others in the organization of the executive power.

It was necessary to proceed to the composition of the deliberative bodies. There the natural part for M. Sieyès was pointed out of itself. It had been written in the Constitution that the Senate should elect the members of all the deliberative bodies. The point was to decide who should compose the Senate for the first time. It was decreed by a special article of the Constitution that Messrs. Sieyès and Roger-Ducos, who were about to cease to be Consuls, conjointly with Messrs. Cambacérès and Lebrun, who were on the point of becoming so, should nominate the absolute majority of the Senate, that is, 31 members out of 60. The 31 senators elected in this manner were then to elect by ballot the 29 who were deficient. The Senate, as soon as it was complete, was to compose the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the Court of Cassation.

By means of these different combinations, General Bonaparte found himself at the head of the executive power, but, at the same time, a sort of delicacy was observed in excluding him from the composition of the deliberative bodies called to control

his acts; this duty was left principally to M. Sieyès, whose active part would then be finished, and to him the presidency of the Senate was ensured, as a retirement. The positions were thus suitably settled and appearances saved.

It was decided that the Constitution should be submitted to the national opinion, by means of registers opened at the *mairies*, and at the offices of the justices of peace, notaries, and clerks of the tribunals, and that, till its acceptance, of which no doubt appeared to be entertained, the First Consul, the retiring Consuls, and the two Consuls elect, should proceed to make those appointments with which they were charged, so that, on the 1st of Nivôse the great powers of the State might be constituted, and ready to put in practice the new Constitution. It was indispensable to put an end to that dictatorship of the Provisional Consuls, which began to produce a gloom in some minds, and to satisfy the general impatience that was felt to see at last a definitive government established. Every body, in fact, longed for a stable and just government, which should ensure the strength and unity of power, without stifling all liberty; under which honest and capable men, of all ranks and of all parties, should find the place that was due to them. These wishes, it must be admitted, it was not impossible to satisfy under the Constitution of the year VIII; it would even have satisfied them completely, but for those violences to which it was subjected at a later period by an extraordinary genius, which, however, favoured as it was by circumstances, would have overthrown much stronger barriers than those that the legislative work of M. Sieyès, or any other which it was then possible to devise, could have opposed to it.

The Constitution, decreed in the night between the 12th and the 13th of December, (21st and 22nd Frimaire,) was promulgated on the 15th of December, 1799, to the great satisfaction of its authors, and of the public itself.

It charmed the minds of all by the novelty of the ideas, by the skill of the contrivances. Every body began to feel confidence in it, and in the men who were about to carry it into execution.

It was preceded by the following preamble:—

"CITIZENS!

"The Constitution, now promulgated, puts an end to the uncertainty caused by the Provisional Government in the external relations, and in the internal and military situation of the Republic.

"It places in the institutions which it establishes the first magistrates, whose devotedness has appeared necessary to its activity.

"The Constitution is founded on the true principles of repre-

sentative government, on the sacred rights of property, of equality, and of liberty.

"The powers which it institutes will be strong and stable, as they must be, in order to guarantee the rights of the citizens and the interests of the State.

"Citizens! The Revolution is confined to the principles which commenced it: IT IS FINISHED."

Two such men as General Bonaparte and M. Sieyès proclaiming in 1800, "The Revolution is finished!" What a singular proof of the illusions of the human mind! Still it must be admitted that something was finished—that was anarchy.

Great was the joy of all those, who had had a hand in this work, to see it finished. Some of the ideas of M. Sieyès had been rejected; nearly his whole Constitution was nevertheless adopted, and, without an absolute power, like that of Solon, Lycurgus, or Mahomet, a power which, in our times of doubt, no man can obtain, it was scarcely possible to infuse a larger portion of his conception into the Constitution of a great people. And, such as it was, if the conqueror of Marengo had not afterwards made two considerable changes in it—the addition of the imperial succession, and the retrenchment of the Tribunate—this Constitution might have furnished a career which would not have been the triumph of absolute power.

M. Sieyès, having put the sword which had served to overthrow the Directory into the hand of General Bonaparte, having framed a Constitution, was about to consign France to the devouring activity of the young Consul, and to retire, for his own part, into that meditative idleness, which he preferred to the stirring bustle of business. The new First Consul was desirous to give to the legislator of France a testimonial of national gratitude: at his instigation, the gift of the estate of Crosne was proposed to the legislative commissions. This gift was decreed, and announced to M. Sieyès with the noblest expressions of public gratitude. M. Sieyès was highly gratified; for, notwithstanding an incontestable probity, he had a relish for the indulgences of fortune, and he could not but be touched also by the dignified and delicate manner in which this national recompense was bestowed on him.

Preparations were then made for putting the Constitution in force in the first days of January, 1800, (Nivôse, year VIII.,) that is, in the first days of the year which was about to close that extraordinary century.

BOOK II.

INTERNAL GOVERNMENT.

Definitive Establishment of the Consular Government—Composition of the Senate, of the Legislative Body, of the Tribunate, and of the Council of State (*Conseil d'Etat*)—The First Consul's Manifesto to the Powers of Europe—Public Offers of Peace made to England and to Austria—Proclamation addressed to La Vendée—Opening of the First Session—Germs of Opposition in the Tribunate—Speeches of the Tribunes, Duveyrier and Benjamin Constant—A considerable Majority approves the Measures of the Consuls—Numerous Laws for the Organization of Public Bodies—Institution of Préfectures and of Sub-Préfectures—Creation of Tribunals of First Instance, and of Appeal—The List of Emigrants closed and discontinued—Restoration of the Right to dispose of Property by Will—Law relating to Income and Expenditure.—The Bank of France—Sequel of Negotiations with European Powers—Refusal of England to entertain the Proposals of Peace—Warm Debate on this Subject in the British Parliament—The Refusal of Austria couched in milder, but not less firm Terms than that of England—Necessity for recommencing Hostilities—On the Rejection of his Overtures by the Belligerent Powers, the First Consul endeavours to propitiate Prussia, and frankly explains his Views—He strives to bring the War in La Vendée to a close before commencing the Campaign of 1800—Position of Parties in La Vendée—Proceedings of the Abbé Bernier—Peace of Montfaucon—Messrs. d'Autichamp, de Châtillon, de Bourmont, and Georges Cadoudal, proceed to Paris and see the First Consul—M. de Frotté is shot—Final Submission of La Vendée—Troops are put in march for the Frontiers—The Session of the Year VIII. closes in quiet—Police regulations in regard to the Press—Funeral Ceremony on the Occasion of the Death of Washington—The First Consul takes up his Abode at the Palace of the Tuileries.

BOOK II.

INTERNAL GOVERNMENT.

The 4th Nivôse of the year VIII. (25th of December, 1799), was the day appointed for the entry of the Consuls on their functions, and the first sitting of the Conservative Senate. Numerous appointments were necessarily made prior to that date, it being requisite to organise both the Executive power, and the Senate, before they could proceed to business.

General Bonaparte, upon whom it devolved to appoint the agents of the Executive Power, as well as Messrs. Sieyès, Roger-Ducos, Cambacérès, and Lebrun, who were entrusted with the selection of the members of the Senate (who again, in their turn, had to choose the members of the Legislative Body and the Tribunate), were beset by solicitations from every quarter. The applicants sought to be appointed either Senators or members of the Legislative Body, Tribunes, Councillors of State, or Prefects; and really these important posts, all conferring handsome emoluments, and all to be filled up at once, were calculated to tempt the ambitious. Many fiery revolutionists, enemies of the 18th Brumaire, were already wonderfully appeased. Many of those waverers, who only make up their minds after success, were beginning to express their sentiments aloud. There was at that time, as there always is, an expression of the day, which depicted to a nicety the state of the public mind. "We must speak out" (il faut *se montrer*), were words in every mouth; "we must show that, far from wishing to throw fresh obstacles in the way of the new Government, we are, on the contrary, ready to assist in overcoming those which surround it;" which, in reality, meant, that the speaker was anxious to attract the notice of the five personages who had all the patronage in their hands. Among the applicants, there were even some who, to secure their appointment to the Tribunate, promised their zealous support to the Consular government, although they had beforehand made up their minds to pursue towards it a system of vexatious annoyance.

In revolutions, when the fire of the passions begins to burn low, cupidity may be seen to succeed violence, and the terror of the spectator is almost suddenly changed into disgust. Were

it not that deeds of lofty virtue and heroic actions covered with their lustre the sad details; and especially were it not that the vast and beneficial results which nations derive from social revolutions compensated for the present evil by an immensity of good to come, we might well turn our eyes from the spectacle which they present to the world. But they are the trials to which Providence subjects human society for its regeneration, and we ought, therefore, to study with care, and, if possible, with advantage, the scene alternately repulsive and sublime.

It appears that the impulse thus given to the ambitious of all classes was strong enough to attract the attention of public writers, and to afford a subject for their pens. Even the *Moniteur*, which was not yet an official organ, but became so a few days later (the 7th Nivôse)—the *Moniteur* felt called on to stigmatise the meanness displayed by the applicants.

"Since the Constitution," said that paper, "has created a number of well-paid posts, how many people are in a stir! how many faces, little known, are anxious to show themselves! how many forgotten names are again wriggling under the dust of the Revolution! how many haughty republicans of the year VII. are humbling themselves, that they may reach the ear of the man of power, who can provide for them! What numbers of Brutuses are soliciting appointments! how many men of slender abilities are extolled to the skies! what trifling services are exaggerated! how many bloody spots are hidden from sight! This wonderful change of scene has taken place in a moment. Let us hope that the hero of liberty, he who has hitherto distinguished himself in the Revolution only by conferring benefits, will view these manœuvres with the disgust which they excite in every noble mind, and that he will not tolerate the attempt of a crowd of obscure or disreputable individuals to shroud themselves under the rays of his glory."—*Moniteur* of the 3rd Nivôse.

Let us, however, in fairness, separate the good from the bad, and let it not be supposed that the above picture was that of the whole nation. If there were men who demeaned themselves, and others who, without stooping so low, yet put themselves forward, some at least awaited in a becoming manner the appeal which the government was about to make to their intelligence and zeal. If M. Constant, for instance, sought to be admitted to the Tribunate with eagerness and great assurances of devotedness to the Bonaparte family, Messrs. de Tracy, Volney, Monge, Carnot, Ginguené, and Ducis, made no applications, but left it to the free choice of the constituent power to include them or not in that vast nomination of public functionaries.

On the 24th of December (3rd Nivôse) the new Consuls met, and proceeded to appoint the members of the Council of State, in order that the installation of the Government might take place the next day, 25th of December (4th Nivôse). Messrs. Sieyès

and Roger-Ducos, the two Consuls going out, along with Messrs. Cambacérès and Lebrun, the two coming into office, then proceeded to the Luxembourg to nominate thirty-one members (one more than a moiety) of the Senate, in order that that body might meet on the following day, choose the remaining members, and proceed to the formation of the great deliberating bodies.

The Council of State was divided into five sections; the first of the finances, the second of civil and criminal legislation, the third of war, the fourth of the marine, the fifth of the interior. Each section was to be presided over by a Councillor of State, and the entire Council by the First Consul; or, in his absence, by one of his two colleagues, Cambacérès or Lebrun.

Each section was to draw up the bills (*projets de loi*), and the regulations relating to the matters within its competence. These bills and regulations were afterwards to be discussed in a general assembly of all the sections. The Council of State was further charged to decide contested points of administration, and disputes as to competence, both betwixt the civil tribunals and the administration, and between the tribunals themselves. These are the very powers which it exercises at the present day; but at that period it possessed solely the privilège of drawing up the laws, with the exclusive right to discuss them before the Legislative Body; and, further, it was made acquainted with great government questions, and sometimes with those of foreign policy, as several instances in the sequel will show. The Council of State, therefore, was not at that period a mere Council of Administration, but a real Council of Government.

Several members of that Body were also charged, in the different ministerial departments, with certain specific services, to which it was thought desirable either to attach greater importance, or to secure extraordinary attention: these were the departments of Public Instruction, the Treasury, the Domains (Woods and Forests), the Colonies, and Public Works. The Councillors of State charged with the management of these various branches were placed under the authority of the proper Minister. The members of the Council of State were to enjoy the handsome salary of 25,000 francs (1000*l.* sterling) each, and the Presidents 35,000 francs each (1400*l.* sterling). These sums, it must be borne in mind, were, at that time, more considerable than they would be now-a-days. The appointments to the Council of State were more sought after than the appointments to the Senate, because, besides enjoying the same emoluments as the Senators and equal rank, the Councillors participated, as much as the ministers themselves, in the management of the most important business.

The principal members of this important body were—in the section of war, Messrs. Lacuée, Brune, and Marmont; in the section of the marine, Messrs. De Champagny, Ganteaume, and Fleurieu; in the section of the finances, Messrs. Defermon,

Duchâtel, and Dufresne; in the section of justice, Messrs. Boulay de la Meurthe, Berlier, and Réal; in the section of the interior, Messrs. Rœderer, Cretet, Chaptal, Régnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angely, and Fourcroy. The five presidents were Messrs. Brune, Ganteaume, Defermon, Boulay de la Meurthe, and Rœderer. It would certainly have been impossible to select names of greater note, or talents more genuine and diverse.

I must observe, that the French Revolution had been prodigiously prolific of men of talent in every profession, and that there were materials for composing a most diversified, able, and, let me add, glorious phalanx of government officers: provided only that no attention were, in future, paid to the exclusions pronounced by one party against another. This was the course pursued by the new Consul. He appointed, for instance, to the section of the finances, M. Devaisnes, loudly accused, at that time, of Royalism; but possessing, in that branch of business, a practical knowledge which had been, and has since been, extremely useful.

On the same day, 24th of December (3rd Nivôse), Messrs. Sieyès, Roger-Ducos, Cambacérès, and Lebrun, met for the purpose of nominating twenty-nine senators, who, with the two Consuls about to go out of office, should form together thirty-one members. The list, as might be supposed, had been previously prepared; it contained names of high standing, such as Messrs. Berthollet, Laplace (lately minister of the interior), Monge, Tracy, Volney, Cabanis, Kellerman, Garat, Lacépède, and Ducis. The last named declined the post.

On the following day, 25th of December (4th Nivôse), the Council of State met for the first time. The Consuls, accompanied by the ministers, were present at the sitting. The subject under deliberation was a bill to fix the reciprocal relations of the great bodies of the State. Several measures, which it was necessary to prepare for presentation to the Legislative Body in the approaching session, were also agreed upon.

The Senate, on the other hand, met at the palace of the Luxembourg, and proceeded to elect twenty-nine new members, who, added to the thirty-one already chosen, made the number of Senators in all sixty. The reader will remember that this number was subsequently to be increased to eighty. The supplemental list also contained some very distinguished characters, such as Messrs. Lagrange, Darcet, François de Neufchâteau, Daubenton, Bougainville, Perregaux the banker; and, lastly, a man of very old family, M. de Choiseul-Praslin.

In the following days the Senate was engaged in forming the Legislative Body and the Tribunate. For the Legislative Body they chose the moderate men of every period; members of the Constituent Assembly, of the Legislative Assembly, of the National Convention, and of the Five Hundred. Care was taken

to select from these different assemblies such men as had little courted distinction and popularity, or panted for success in the turmoil of public affairs; whilst those who were known for the contrary tastes were reserved for the Tribunate. Consequently, the three hundred names which composed the Legislative Body could not be very brilliant; and it would be difficult to discover in that numerous list two or three names which are known at the present day. One of them was the modest and brave Latour-d'Auvergne, a hero worthy of antiquity for his virtues, his exploits, and his glorious end.

Among the hundred members of the Tribunate, selected with the very natural, but ere long bitterly repented, object of affording a field for active, stirring minds, desirous of fame, were many celebrated personages, some of whose names may be somewhat effaced, but are not altogether forgotten at this hour. They were Messrs. Chénier, Andrieux, Chauvelin, Stanislas de Girardin, Benjamin Constant, Daunou, Riouffe, Bérenger, Ganilh, Ginguené, Laromiguière, Jean Baptiste Say, &c.

No sooner was the formation of these bodies terminated, than the edifices assigned to them were got ready. The Tuileries was reserved for the three Consuls; the Luxembourg was appropriated to the Senate, the Palais Bourbon to the Legislative Body, and the Palais Royal to the Tribunate.

Several hundred thousand francs were expended in making the Tuileries habitable, and, until the completion of the necessary repairs, the Consuls took up their residence at the Petit Luxembourg.

General Bonaparte had already effected much since his return from Egypt: he had overthrown the Directory, and acquired an authority, apparently inferior, but in reality superior, to that of constitutional monarchy. But he had only just possessed himself of that authority, and it yet remained for him to legitimatise its assumption by measures of utility and great actions. He had still an immense deal to accomplish, and his first attempts at reorganisation were only one effort, already successful, it is true, but which still left the country exposed to sad disorder and deep suffering: there were still, penury at the Treasury, privation in the armies, the flame of civil war in La Vendée, hesitation on the part of the neutral powers, and a determination truly obstinate to continue the struggle on the part of the belligerent powers. Still, that assumption of power, succeeding his first toils, and preceding the immense task which he felt the confidence of ere long accomplishing, charmed his ambitious soul.

To celebrate the installation of his government, he performed a series of acts, purposely accumulated, and in which there were discernible profound policy, heartfelt joy, and that generosity which satisfaction imparts to every feeling and benevolent mind.

These measures were successively announced between the 25th of December (4th Nivôse) the day of the installation of the Consular government and the 1st of January, 1800 (11th Nivôse), the day of the opening of the first legislative session.

In the first place, a judgment of the Council of State of the 27th of December (6th Nivôse) declared that the laws which excluded the relations of emigrants and the former nobles from public functions, should cease as a matter of course, because these laws were at variance with the principles of the new Constitution.

A certain number of individuals belonging to the revolutionary party had been condemned, as we have before seen, to banishment or imprisonment, in consequence of a measure adopted, with little reflection, a few days after the 18th Brumaire. The banishment and imprisonment had been mitigated to *surveillance* of the political police. A decree of the 5th Nivôse did away even with the *surveillance*. Having made this reparation to those who had well nigh experienced his severity, the First Consul performed a more important and more necessary act of justice towards the victims of the Directory and of the preceding governments.

Such as had been banished without a regular trial were authorised to return to France, upon condition that they should reside in the places assigned. This measure extended to persons proscribed at every period, but more especially to the proscripts of the 18th Fructidor. Messrs. Boissy-d'Anglas, Dumolard, and Pastoret were recalled, and the first was authorised to reside at Annonay, the second at Grenoble, and the third at Dijon. Messrs. Carnot, Portalis, Quatremère-Quincey, Siméon, Villaret-Joyeuse, Barbé-Marbois, and Barrère, were also recalled and authorised to reside in Paris. The care taken to assign the capital for their place of abode to such men as Messrs. Carnot, Siméon, and Portalis, although they were not natives of it, clearly indicated that the Government had its eye upon them, and meant to turn their talents to account.

Other measures were adopted in respect of religious worship and its free celebration. On the 28th of December (7th Nivôse) it was decreed that the edifices set apart for religious ceremonies should continue to be used for these purposes, or should be again appropriated to them, in case they had not been already restored to the ministers of the different persuasions. Certain local authorities, wishing to obstruct the exercise of the Catholic worship, forbade the opening of the churches on Sundays, and only allowed it on the *Décadi*. The Consuls reversed the municipal decisions of this sort, and added to the restitution of the religious edifices the free permission to make use of them on the days appointed by each persuasion. For the present, however, they did not dare to prohibit the ceremonies of the Theophilanthropists, which took place in the churches, on certain days of the

week, and which were viewed as profanations by the Catholics.

The Consuls caused the form of engagement which was required from the priests to be modified. Hitherto they had been called on to take a special oath to the civil constitution of the Clergy—an oath which obliged them to recognise a legislation, at variance, according to some of them, with the laws of the Church. It was suggested only to impose on them a simple promise of obedience to the Constitution of the State; which no one of them could reasonably scruple to give, without refusing that *obedience to Cæsar* which the Catholic religion so rigorously prescribes. This is what was afterwards termed the *promise*, as distinguished from the *oath*, and which led a great number of priests immediately to resume their religious duties. The *assermentés*, priests who took the oath, had already enjoyed the favour of the Government; it was now the turn of the *non*-assermentés (nonjurors).

To the preceding measures the new First Consul added one which must have appeared to every one as peculiarly his own, since it recalled to mind matters which were in a manner personal to himself. He had negotiated with the deceased Pope, Pius VI., and signed, at the gates of Rome, the treaty of Tolentino. He had, ever since the year 1797, affected to show great respect for this head of the Catholic Church, and had received from his Holiness marked testimonies of goodwill. Pius VI., who died at Valence, in Dauphiné, had not yet obtained the honours of burial. His mortal remains were deposited in a sacristy. General Bonaparte, on his way home from Egypt, saw Cardinal Spina at Valence, learned these particulars, and resolved soon to make amends for this most unbecoming neglect.

Accordingly, on the 30th of December (9th Nivôse), he induced the Consuls to join in a decree, grounded on the noblest considerations.

"The Consuls," so ran this decree, "considering that the body of Pius VI. has, for six months, been deposited in the town of Valence, without having yet had the honours of sepulture granted to it;

"That, though this old man, respectable for his misfortunes, may have been for a moment the enemy of France, it was only because he was misled by the counsels of those who surrounded his advanced years;

"That it is befitting the dignity of the French nation, and conformable to its character, to show its respect for a man who occupied one of the highest offices upon earth;

"The Consuls decree," &c. &c. The clauses which followed directed not only that funeral honours should be paid to the Pontiff's remains, but that a monument should also record the rank of the departed Prince.

This demonstration produced more effect, perhaps, than the most humane measures would have done, because it struck the imagination, accustomed to other spectacles. Immense numbers thronged, in consequence, to Valence, to avail themselves of the authorisation thus given for making a religious manifestation.

The list of the revolutionary festivals contained one conceived in a truly woful spirit, namely, that which was celebrated on the 21st of January.* Whatever might be the sentiments of the men of all parties respecting the tragic event connected with that date, it was a barbarous festival, which was designed to commemorate a sanguinary catastrophe. In the time of the Directory, General Bonaparte had shown a strong repugnance to attend at it; not that he had then any idea of honouring royalty, which he was one day to re-establish for his own profit, but he liked to defy publicly the passions which he did not share. Now that he had become the head of the government, he instigated the legislative commissions to decide that in future there should be no more than two festivals—that of the 14th of July, the anniversary of the first day of the Revolution, and that of the 1st of Vendemiaire, the anniversary of the first day of the Republic. "These days," said he, "are imperishable in the memory of the citizens; they were hailed by all Frenchmen with unanimous transports, and awaken no recollection tending to produce division among the friends of the Republic."

It needed all the power, all the boldness, of the head of the new government to venture upon a series of measures which, though just, politic, and moral in themselves, nevertheless appeared to hot-headed enthusiasts so many preliminary acts of a complete counter-revolution. But, in doing all this, General Bonaparte took care to set the first example himself of the oblivion of political animosities, sometimes to rouse with emphasis that sense of glory by which he led the men of the time, and raised them above the base and furious passions of parties. Thus General Augereau had offended him by unbecoming conduct on the 18th of Brumaire; he nevertheless appointed him to the command of the army in Holland.

"Show," he wrote to him, in a letter which was published, "show, in all the acts that your command will give you occasion to perform, that you are above those miserable party dissensions, the recoil of which has unfortunately, for these ten years, torn France in pieces..... If circumstances oblige me to take the field in person, be assured that I shall not leave you in Holland, and that I shall never forget the glorious day of Castiglione."

At the same time he instituted arms of honour, a prelude to the foundation of the Legion of Honour. French democracy, after such vehement demonstrations of its horror of personal distinctions, could, at most, tolerate at that time

* The anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI.

rewards for military actions. In pursuance of an article of the Constitution, the First Consul caused a resolution to be passed, that, for every brilliant action, a musket of honour should be presented to the infantry, a carabine of honour to the cavalry, grenadoes of honour to the artillery, and, lastly, swords of honour to officers of all ranks. The First Consul followed up the institution, decreed on the 25th of December (4th Nivôse), by positive acts. Next day he awarded a sword to General St. Cyr, for a brilliant action which he had just fought in the Apennines. "I offer you," said he to him, "in token of my satisfaction, a handsome sword, which you will wear on days of battle. Let the soldiers under your command know that I am content with them, and that I hope to be still more so."

To these acts, which proclaimed the actual assumption of power, which marked the character of his government, and clearly showed his disposition to set himself above all party passions, the First Consul immediately added proceedings of higher importance, as well in regard to La Vendée, as to the European powers.

A suspension of arms had been signed with the Vendeans, conferences with them had begun, and yet the pacification was no forwarder. General Bonaparte had left little doubt in the minds of the royalists, who had addressed themselves to him for the purpose of sounding his intentions, and ascertaining whether he would not be satisfied with being the restorer, the support, the first subject, of the house of Bourbon. He had undeceived them, by showing himself irrevocably attached to the cause of the French Revolution. This frankness in his declarations had not tended to promote the conciliation that was begun. The Vendean chiefs hesitated. They were placed between fear, excited by the vigour of the new government, and the solicitations of the emigrants in London, who were authorised to promise them, on behalf of Mr. Pitt, arms, money, and troops.

It was on a fresh insurrection in La Vendée that England particularly reckoned. She purposed making on that part of our coast an attempt similar to that which had been tried in Holland. The failure of that expedition had not discouraged her; and she earnestly solicited of the Emperor Paul the co-operation of his troops, without much chance, indeed, of obtaining it. Prussia, which began to testify a sort of interest for the consular government, Prussia never ceased repeating to Duroc, the aide-de-camp, and to M. Otto, the chargé d'affaires of France, "Get La Vendée off your hands, for it is there that the most serious blows will be levelled at you."

Of this General Bonaparte was aware. Not only did La Vendée weaken the armies of the Republic by absorbing part of their forces, but to him civil war seemed both a misfortune and a sort of dishonour for a government, as it attested a deplorable internal condition. He had, therefore, taken the most efficacious

measures for bringing that business to a conclusion. He had recalled from Holland a portion of the army which, under General Brune, had recently defeated the combined English and Russians; he had added to it part of the garrison of Paris, which he could diminish considerably without apprehension, the spell of his name serving in lieu of material force; and in this manner he had contrived to assemble in the West an excellent army of about 60,000 men. General Brune was placed at the head of this force, with the recommendation to retain, as his principal lieutenant, the prudent and conciliatory Hédouville, who held all the threads of the negotiation with the royalists. The name of General Brune was an answer to those who reckoned upon a new landing of the Anglo-Russians. But, before striking a decisive blow, if the conditions of the pacification were not finally accepted, the First Consul deemed it right to address the Vendeans on the very day of his installation.

On the 29th of December (8th Nivôse) he addressed a proclamation and a decree of the Consuls to the departments of the West. He said to them, "An impious war threatens a second time to set the departments of the West in a flame. The duty of the first magistrates of the Republic is to prevent its spreading, and to extinguish it in its focus, but they are unwilling to employ force, till they have exhausted all the means of persuasion and justice."

Drawing a line between criminal men, sold to foreigners, for ever irreconcileable with the Republic, and misguided citizens, who, by engaging in civil war, intended only to resist cruel persecutions, the First Consul referred to all the measures calculated to win the confidence of the latter, and to bring them over to the new government, such as the repeal of the law concerning the hostages, the restoration of the churches to the priests, the liberty allowed to every one to keep Sunday; he further promised a full and entire amnesty to those who should submit, abandon the assemblages of insurgents, and lay down the arms furnished by England. But he added that the most severe measures would be immediately taken against those who should persist in insurrection. He announced the suspension of the Constitution, that is, the employment of extraordinary authorities in those places where insurgent bands should continue to appear in arms. "The government," it was said, at the conclusion of the proclamation of the Consuls, "will forgive; it will pardon the repentant; its clemency shall be complete and absolute: but it will punish every one who, after this declaration, shall dare to resist the national sovereignty. But, no; henceforward we will be actuated by only one sentiment—the love of our country. The ministers of a God of peace will be the first promoters of reconciliation and concord. Let them speak to their flocks in that language which pervades the Word of their divine master; let them repair to those temples

which are again opened to them, and offer the sacrifice that shall atone for the crimes of war and for the blood which it has caused to be spilt."

This proclamation, seconded by a formidable force, was calculated to make an impression, especially as it emanated from a new government, which had no hand whatever in the excesses and faults that had served as a pretext for civil war.

Having proceeded in this manner towards our enemies at home, the First Consul, addressing himself to our enemies abroad, resolved to take a formal step towards the two powers which had not yet given any sign of a return to pacific sentiments, and seemed, on the contrary, to be obstinately bent on the prosecution of the war: we mean Austria and Great Britain.

Prussia, as we have seen, had received Duroc in the most flattering manner, and was every day giving more expressive testimonies of sympathy for the First Consul. Satisfied with the footing on which she stood with him, she wished success to his government against anarchy, success to his arms against Austria. As for the scheme of offering herself as mediatrix, she still cherished the idea, but durst not take the first step, conceiving that peace was yet far distant, and being unwilling to enter rashly upon a course, the bearing of which it was impossible to foresee. In fact, whoever observed attentively the state of things in Europe, might easily perceive that, to loosen the ties which bound England and Austria, there would need another campaign. The court of Madrid had likewise beheld with satisfaction the accession of General Bonaparte, because with him the alliance of France and Spain seemed at once more honourable and more profitable. But the horizon was not completely clear in any quarter. General Bonaparte resolved, therefore, the very same day that the Constitution invested him officially with a new authority, to address himself to the decidedly hostile powers, for the purpose of offering them peace, and publicly showing that it was their own fault if they refused it. After that, he could resort to war, having the opinion of the world on his side.

In the first place, all the French diplomatic agents previously appointed, (but who had not yet left Paris, because it was desirable that they should be accredited in the name of the government definitively constituted) were instructed to proceed to their respective posts. General Beurnonville set out for Berlin, M. Alquier for Madrid, M. de Sémonville for the Hague, M. Bourgoing for Copenhagen. General Beurnonville was to pay an adroit and flattering compliment to the King of Prussia by asking him for a bust of the great Frederick, to be placed in the grand gallery of Diana, in the Tuileries. The First Consul was at that time arranging in this gallery the busts of all the great men whom he particularly admired. M. Alquier, besides conveying to Madrid the kindest assurances to the king

and to the queen, was charged with a present for the Prince of Peace, who possessed considerable influence, though he was no longer minister. This present consisted of fine specimens of arms, made at the manufactory of Versailles, famous at that time throughout all Europe for the excellence of its productions.

This done, the First Consul turned his attention to the step proposed to be taken towards the two hostile powers, England and Austria. In general, it is customary to disguise such steps, to precede them by indirect overtures, in order to guard against the humiliation of a refusal. General Bonaparte, in addressing England and Austria, meant to address the world; and for this purpose he needed a solemn overture, deviating entirely from the accustomed forms, which should appeal to the hearts of the sovereigns themselves, and flatter or embarrass them. Accordingly, instead of transmitting notes to Lord Grenville or M. de Thugut, he wrote directly to the King of England and the Emperor of Germany two letters, which the ministers of those courts were desired to submit to their Sovereigns.

The letter destined for the King of England was in these terms:

"Paris, 5th Nivôse, year VIII. (Dec. 26th, 1799).

"SIRE,

"Called by the wish of the French nation to fill the chief magistracy of the Republic, I think it fitting, on entering upon office, to make a direct communication on the subject to your Majesty.

"Is the war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the globe to be eternal? Are there then no means of coming to an understanding?

"How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, stronger and more powerful than their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the blessings of commerce, internal prosperity, and domestic happiness? How can they help feeling that peace is the first of wants, as well as the first of glories!

"These sentiments cannot be strange to your majesty, who governs a free nation, and with the sole aim to render it happy.

"In this overture, your majesty will discover only my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to the general pacification by a prompt procedure, entirely confidential, and divested of those forms, which, necessary perhaps for disguising the dependence of weak States, betray only in strong States a mutual desire to deceive one another.

"France, England, by the abuse of their strength, may for a long time to come, for the misfortune of all nations, retard its exhaustion; but I dare assert, the lot of all civilised nations is attached to the termination of a war which has thrown the whole world into a conflagration.

Signed, "BONAPARTE,

"First Consul of the French Republic."

On the same day, the First Consul addressed the following letter to the Emperor of Germany:—

"On returning to Europe, after an absence of eighteen months, I find the war rekindled between the French Republic and your Majesty.

"The French nation calls me to occupy the chief magistracy.

"A stranger to every feeling of vain glory, the first of my wishes is to stop the effusion of the blood that is about to be spilt. Every thing forebodes that, in the next campaign, numerous and ably directed armies will triple the number of the victims hitherto sacrificed, by the resumption of hostilities. The known character of your majesty leaves me no doubt respecting the wish of your heart. If that wish alone is consulted, I perceive a possibility of reconciling the interests of the two nations.

"In the communications which I have previously had with your majesty, you have personally testified some regard for me. I request you to consider the step which I am taking as proceeding from a desire to make a return for it, and to convince you more and more of the very high respect which I entertain for your Majesty.

Signed, "BONAPARTE,
"First Consul of the French Republic."

Such was the language in which the First Consul communicated his accession, as well to the parties that divided France, as to the cabinets coalesced against her. He offered peace, preparing to secure it by force, if he could not obtain it by amicable means. His intention was to employ the winter in making a short and decisive campaign in La Vendée, that, in spring, he might be able to move upon the Rhine and the Alps such troops as, on the termination of the war at home, should be available for the war abroad.

While awaiting the result of these proceedings, he opened the legislative session on the 1st of January, 1800 (11th Nivôse, year VIII.), and resolved to devote that session of four months to the preparation of sound laws, and to the administrative reorganisation of France, which was scarcely commenced. He had just appointed his brother Lucien minister of the interior, in lieu of Laplace the mathematician, and M. Abrial, a very worthy man, and very attentive to business, as minister of justice, in the room of M. Cambacérès, who had become Consul.

On the 1st of January, 1800, the Senate, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunate, assembled. The Senate elected M. Sieyès for president; the Legislative Body elected M. Perrin of Vosges; the Tribunate, M. Daunou. Numerous bills (*projets de loi*) were immediately presented to the Legislative Body.

At the sight of these deliberative assemblies meeting afresh, a sort of anxiety prevailed. People were weary of agitation; they longed for repose; they were cured of that violent fondness for political eloquence, which France had felt in '89, when Mirabeau, Barnave, Maury, Cazalès, opened for it an entirely new career of glory, that of the tribune. The animosity against the bar was general; there was no favour but for men of action, capable of procuring victory and peace for France. Still people had not yet resolved on the establishment of an absolute power; and they had no wish that all liberty, all temperate discussion, should be stifled. If the power of action, which a new legislator had just placed in the Constitution, by the creation of a First Consul, and the selection for that magistracy of the greatest captain of the age; if that power were incompatible with liberty, they were ready to sacrifice the latter; but every body would have been delighted at the reconciliation of liberty and strength, if it were possible. It was not vulgar agitators or obstinate republicans who entertained these sentiments; it was men of discreet, enlightened minds, whom it would have pained to see the Revolution belie itself so soon and so completely. Accordingly, the indifferent asked themselves with curiosity, the good citizens with real uneasiness, what bearing the Tribunate, the only body which had liberty of speech, would assume towards the new government, and how the government would endure an opposition, if an opposition should happen to be formed.

When a reaction takes place, be that reaction ever so general, it does not hurry all along with it; and it irritates, nay, even shocks, those whom it does not hurry along. Messrs. Chénier, Andrieux, Ginguené, Daunou, and Benjamin Constant, who had seats in the Tribunate, Messrs. de Tracy, Volney, and Cabanis, who were members of the Senate, while they deplored the crimes of the Reign of terror, were not disposed to think that the French Revolution was wrong in its conduct towards its adversaries. The monarchical and religious doctrines, which were perceptibly gaining ground, galled them, as did still more the immoderate haste with which this return to ancient ideas was effected. This produced in them a dissatisfaction, which they took no pains to disguise. Most of them were sincere. Strongly attached to the Revolution, they wished for it almost entire, excepting the blood and the spoliations, and had little taste for that which people imagined they could descry in the profound conception of the new dictator. That priests should not be persecuted, good! But that they should be favoured so far as to be reinstated at the altar was too much for these stanch votaries of the philosophy of the eighteenth century. That a little more unity and strength should be given to government, good again! But that this principle should be carried to such an extent as to re-establish monarchical unity for the benefit of a military man,

this was far too much in their estimation. For the rest—as it is always the case—their motives were various. If such were the opinions of Messrs. Chénier, Ginguené, Daunou, Tracy, and Cabanis, they could not be those of M. Constant, who, most assuredly had not imbibed in the society of the Necker family, in which he moved, either an aversion to religious ideas, or an exclusive fondness for the French Revolution. On attaining to the Tribunate, thanks to the solicitations of his friends, he had, nevertheless, become, in a few days, the most restless and the cleverest of the new opposition. He was actuated by his sarcastic humour, but more especially by the discontent of the Necker family, which he participated. Madame de Staël, who, in her single person, then represented that illustrious family, had greatly admired General Bonaparte; and it would have been an easy matter for him to win the good will of one whose sprightly imagination was alive to every thing that was great. But, though endowed with as much understanding as genius, he had offended, by expressions not the most decorous, a woman whom he disliked, because he found in her pretensions above her sex; and he had produced in her heart an irritation, which, if not formidable, was at least annoying. Every fault, however slight, produces its fruit. The First Consul was soon to reap the fruit of his, in meeting with a very untoward opposition from those who were under the influence of the persuasive mind of Madame de Staël. Of this number was M. Constant.

The Palais Royal had been assigned to the Tribunate, assuredly not from design, but solely from necessity; the Tuileries had been given up to the head of the government; the Luxembourg, previously appropriated to the Council of the Ancients, had naturally been assigned to the Senate; the Palais Bourbon had been set aside for the Legislative Body. Thus there was no building but the Palais Royal that could be allotted to the Tribunate. Such was, in certain minds, the disposition to take the simplest acts amiss, that they complained bitterly of the choice of this palace, and alleged that it was with a view to lower the Tribunate that it had been made to meet in the ordinary haunt of vice and debauchery. Certain articles of regulation were under discussion in this assembly on the 2nd and 3rd of January, when, all at once, M. Duveyrier, one of its members, rose to complain of some measures, injurious, as he said, to several proprietors of establishments which had existed for years in the Palais Royal. There was nothing interesting in the case of the complainants, and, moreover, they had received compensation. Duveyrier inveighed warmly against these alleged acts of injustice, and said that the national representation ought not to be made unpopular, by being rendered responsible for harsh acts committed in its name. Then, passing to the choice of the locality, "I am not one of those," said he, "who are offended because it has been thought fit to select for the meetings of the

Tribunate a place which is the ordinary theatre of vice and of every kind of excesses; in this I see neither danger nor any allusion injurious to us. I pay homage, on the contrary, to the popular intention of those who wished that the tribunes of the people should sit amidst the people; that the defenders of liberty should meet in a place that witnessed the first triumphs of liberty. I thank them for having allowed us the means of viewing, from this very tribune, the spot on which the noble Camille Desmoulins, giving the signal for a glorious movement, displayed that national cockade, our most glorious trophy, our eternal rallying sign; that cockade which gave birth to so many prodigies, to which so many heroes owe the celebrity of their arms, and which we will not lay down but with life. I thank them for having enabled us to see that spot, which, if people were inclined to erect an idol of fifteen days, would remind us of the fall of an idol of fifteen centuries."

This off-hand attack produced a strong sensation in the assembly, and before long in Paris. The Tribunate passed to the order of the day, the majority of its members disapproving such a sally. But the effect was not the less powerful; and it was a bad beginning for an assembly, which, if it wished to save liberty from the dangers with which it was threatened by a reaction at that time general, should have observed infinite caution, as well in regard to persons ready to take alarm, as to a head of the government who was easily irritated.

Such a scene could not fail to have consequences. The anger of the First Consul was vehement, and the humble adorers of his nascent power raised a loud outcry. Messrs. Stanislas de Girardin, de Chauvelin, and some others, who, without being disposed to resign all independence in the presence of the new government, yet disapproved this unseasonable opposition, spoke in the following sitting, and, in order to neutralize the effect of the speech of Duveyrier, proposed the taking of a sort of oath to the Constitution.

"Before we proceed to our labours," said M. de Girardin, "I think we ought to give the nation a signal testimony of our attachment to the Constitution. I do not propose to you to swear that you will uphold it. I know, and you know as well as I do, the uselessness of oaths; but I think it may be useful, on entering on our duties, to promise to perform them faithfully. Let us follow the example of the Conservative Senate and of the Council of State, and we shall thus fix the opinion that ought to be formed of us; we shall silence malice, which is already bruiting that the Tribunate is an organized resistance against the government. No! the Tribunate is not a focus of opposition, but a focu of intelligence. No! the Tribunate does not mean to comba without ceasing the acts of the government; it is ready, on th contrary, to hail them with joy, when they shall be in harmon with the public interest. The Tribunate will strive to allay th

passions of the day, instead of exciting them. Its moderation must place itself between all the factions to dissolve and to reunite them. It was the moderates who effected the 18th Brumaire, that salutary and glorious day, which has saved France from internal anarchy and foreign invasion. In order to save the Republic, let us return to the principles on which it was founded, but let us beware of returning to excesses which have so often brought it to the brink of perdition. If we see from this place the spot where, for the first time, the emblem of liberty was displayed, from this place, too, we see the spot where were conceived those crimes which imbrued the Revolution in blood. For my own part, I am far from congratulating myself on the choice which has been made of this palace for the place of our meetings; on the contrary, I regret it: but still the events of which it reminds us are, happily, long gone by. The time for vehement harangues, for appeals to the seditious groups of the Palais Royal, is past. If, however, certain declamations can no longer ruin us, they may delay the return of fairer prospects. Spreading from this tribune throughout Paris, from Paris over all Europe, they may create alarm, furnish pretexts, and retard that peace which all of us desire..... Peace," added M. de Girardin, "peace ought incessantly to occupy our thoughts; and if we keep this important interest continually in view, we shall no longer indulge in such expressions as those which the other day escaped one of our colleagues, on which none of us animadverted, because they were irrelevant, for we know no idol in France." He concluded his speech by moving that each member should make the following declaration:—"I promise faithfully to perform the functions which the Constitution has assigned to me."

This proposition was adopted. M. Duveyrier, vexed at the scandal produced by his speech, strove to excuse himself, and desired to be the first to make the declaration suggested by M. de Girardin, which all the members of the Tribunate cheerfully repeated after him.

The effect of the previous scene was, therefore, somewhat repaired. The First Consul, nevertheless, conceived an insuperable aversion for the Tribunate, which, it is true, he would have felt for any free assembly, using and abusing the liberty of speech; and he caused some extremely bitter observations on the tribunes of France and the tribunes of Rome to be inserted in the *Moniteur*.

The following sittings produced fresh manifestations, quite as much to be regretted as the preceding. The first proposition of the government was designed to regulate the forms to be observed in the presentation, discussion, and adoption of bills (*projets de lois*). This was one of the points neglected by the Constitution of the year VIII., and left to the legislature. In the proposed arrangements, no great deference was shown

to the Tribunate. The plan of the government provided that the laws should be carried by three Councillors of State to the Legislative Body, and afterwards communicated to the Tribunate, and that, on a day fixed by the government, the Tribunate was to be ready to discuss them, through the medium of its three orators, before the Legislative Body. The Tribunate, however, was allowed to demand a delay of the Legislative Body, which was to decide whether that delay could be granted. It must be confessed that the Tribunate was here treated very unceremoniously; for it was expected to have finished its task by a given day, which one would scarcely dare to require of a section of the Council of State, or of any Ministerial department. Nobody would, now-a-days, presume to prescribe to any deliberative assembly the day and the term of a discussion; this is a point which, even in cases of urgency, is left to its intelligence and its zeal. But parliamentary courtesies, which, like politeness, are the offspring of usage, could not precede, with us, the practice of representative government. From revolutionary violence, we passed, almost without transition, to military rudeness. The commissions, which had recently, for a month, exercised the legislative power, had, by their discussion with closed doors, and their dispatch of laws in twenty-four hours, humoured the taste of the First Consul, who always wanted to be served and satisfied at the moment. This may account for, but cannot excuse, the objectionable details of the government plan.

The rising opposition of the Tribunate had, therefore, good reason for attacking this plan; but, after commencing with an indecorous scene, it was unlucky for it to have to combat the first proposition emanating from the Consuls; because it induced a belief that a resolution was taken to attack everything; and to this misfortune it added the fault of the form, which was vexatious. The most violent attack proceeded from M. Constant. In a clever and ironical speech, such as he knew how to make, he required that the Tribunate should have a fixed time for examining the bills (*projets de lois*) which should be submitted to it, and that it should not be expected to examine them at a gallop. He adverted, on this subject, to the danger of the *laws of urgency* passed during the Revolution, which had always proved disastrous laws; he asked why such care was taken to hurry business so rapidly through the Tribunate; why it was already considered so hostile, that government was anxious to abridge as much as possible the passage of the laws through that house. "All this," he added, "proceeds from the false idea that we are only an opposition body, destined to do nothing but to thwart the government incessantly; which is not the case, which cannot be the case, which would lower us in public opinion. This false notion has stamped all the clauses of this plan with a restless and unreasonable impatience: the propositions are presented to us flying, as it were, in the hope that we

may not be able to lay hold of them; they are to be hurried away from our examination, like an enemy's army, and to be transformed into laws before we can overtake them."

Many stinging reflections were mingled with this long speech, which produced a very strong sensation. M. Constant had taken particular care to insist that the Tribunate was not a body specially devoted to contradiction; that it would not contradict, unless compelled by the public interest to do so; but he had repeated these protestations in a manner and tone designed to belie their sincerity, and manifest the intention of systematic opposition which he was taking such pains to deny.

Riouffe, the tribune, known for his faithful and courageous friendship for the proscribed Girondins, was one of those whom the horrors of '93 had so shocked, that they were ready to throw themselves blindly into the arms of the new government, whatever that government might do. He, therefore, rose to repel the attacks, in his opinion indecorous, of M. Constant.

"Distrust," said he, "so offensive as that manifested yesterday, would be sufficient to break off all further communication in the intercourse between man and man; and it would be impossible that authorities destined to live together could long treat with one another, if courtesy were not a sacred duty, from which they must never depart."

The speaker then declared that, for his part, he had an absolute confidence in the government; and he entered upon a panegyric of the First Consul, true, but too long, and in terms not sufficiently measured. "When one speaker," said he, "here praises Camille Desmoulins, and another the National Convention, I will not confine myself to a *conspiratory silence;* I too will praise him whom the whole world praises; having hitherto eulogized proscribed virtue alone, I will assume a new kind of courage, that of celebrating genius in the bosom of power and of victory; I shall congratulate myself on beholding, at the head of the Republic, him who has gained for the French nation the title of the Great Nation; I will proclaim him great, clement, just....." Proceeding thus, M. Riouffe compared General Bonaparte with Cæsar and Hannibal; and, by this avowal of a legitimate but unseasonable admiration, he provoked a very unlucky manifestation. Several voices interrupted him. "Keep to the question," they cried. "I," replied M. Riouffe, "will speak of the man whom the whole world admires...." "Question, question," repeated the interrupters; and he was obliged to confine himself to the subject under consideration.

Whether M. Riouffe had provoked the impatience of the interrupters by the sincere, but diffuse and unskilful exposition of his sentiments, or whether the admiration which he felt was not shared in the same degree by the members of the Tribunate, the effect produced by his speech was not happy.

M. de Chauvelin endeavoured to correct it by a speech in favour of the proposed law. He acknowledged its defects. "But the circumstances," said he, "the circumstances in which we are placed, the state of several departments, which may call for prompt, nay, even urgent measures; important political considerations; calumny, which is watching us; the divisions, which she already takes delight in supposing the existence of; the pressing need of union between the powers—all induce us to vote the adoption of the bill (*projet*) that has been laid before us."

The bill was, in fact, put to the vote, and adopted by a majority which ought to have satisfied and encouraged the government; 54 votes against 26 decided that the orators of the Tribunate, commissioned to speak before the Legislative Body, should support the proposed law. The Legislative Body received it still more favourably, and adopted it by a majority of 203 voices against 23. This was as much as could be wished; for a majority of two-thirds, after all, in the Tribunate, (a body whose opposition decided nothing, since it did not vote the laws,) and a majority of nine-tenths in the Legislative Body (the only body whose vote was decisive) ought to have satisfied the First Consul and his adherents, and rendered them indifferent to this last manifestation of liberal spirit, and indulgent towards breaches of form, which, after all, were a right of liberty itself. But the First Consul, who could not be seriously alarmed, appeared, nevertheless, touched to the quick, and expressed himself in the strongest terms. He began to make frequent use of the press, and, though he was not fond of it, he was, nevertheless, glad to employ it for his own interest. He caused an article to be inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 8th of January (18th Nivôse), which was wholly improper, and in which he himself undertook to demonstrate the insignificance of that opposition, to show that it was no part of a systematic plan to thwart the government, and attributed it, in some minds, to a desire of visionary perfection in human laws, in others to a wish to make a noise. "Thus," added the official journal, "every thing authorises us to conclude that there does not exist in the Tribunate any combined and systematic opposition; in short, any real opposition. But every one is athirst for glory, every one wishes to consign his name to the hundred tongues of Fame; and some men have yet to learn that one arrives with less certainty at consideration by the ambition of making fine speeches, than by perseverance in serving usefully, nay, obscurely, that public which applauds and judges."

This manner of treating a great body of the State was far from becoming; it proved, on the part of the First Consul, a disposition to do just what he pleased, and, on the part of France, a disposition to put up with every thing.

These impressions, however, soon gave place to others. The vast labours of the government, in which the Legislative Body and the Tribunate were called to participate, soon attracted the attention of all parties, and occupied them exclusively. The First Consul caused two bills (*projets de loi*) of very great importance to be submitted to the Legislative Body. One related to the departmental and municipal administration, and became the famous law of the 28th Pluviose, year VIII., which established the administrative centralisation in France; the other had for its object the organisation of justice—an organisation which still exists. To these two bills (*projets*) were added others relative to emigrants, whose condition it was urgently necessary to regulate; to the right of making wills, the re-establishment of which was demanded by all families; to the prize court, which it was requisite to establish on account of our relations with neutrals; to the appointment of new collectors of taxes, who were found to be needed; lastly, to the receipts and expenditure of the year VIII.

The administration of France, as we have shown above, was in frightful disorder in 1799. In all countries there are two kinds of business to be despatched; that of the State, which comprehends recruiting, taxes, works of public utility, the enforcement of the laws; and that of the provinces and communes, which consists in the managements of the local interests of every kind. If a country is left to itself, that is to say, if it is not governed by a general administration, at once intelligent and strong, the first kind of business, that of the State, is not done at all; the second finds, in the provincial or communal interest, a principle of zeal, but of a zeal that is capricious, unequal, unjust, and rarely enlightened. The provincial or communal administrations are assuredly not wanting in inclination to attend to what particularly concerns them; but they are wasteful, annoying, and always hostile to the common rule. The tyrannical singularities of the middle age in Europe had no other origin. As soon as the central authority withdraws from a country, there is no kind of disorder to which the local interests are not ready to abandon themselves, their own ruin included. In 1789, wherever the communes had enjoyed any liberty, they were in a state of bankruptcy. Most of the free cities of Germany, when they were suppressed in 1803, were completely ruined. Thus, without a strong, general administration, the business of the State is not done at all, and local business very ill done.

The Constituent Assembly and the National Convention, after they had successively remodelled the administrative organisation of France, arrived at a state of things which was [redacted] collective administrations, of all degrees, permanent, never acting, having at their side commissaries of government, charged to press forward

either the despatch of the business of the State, or the execution of the laws, but denied the power of acting themselves—such was the departmental and municipal system in force on the 18th Brumaire. As for the municipal system, in particular, there had been formed a sort of cantonal municipalities, which only increased this administrative confusion.

The number of the communes had been found too large, for it exceeded 40,000. The superintendence over such a number of petty local governments, already very difficult in itself, became impossible for authorities constituted as the authorities at that time were. The prefects are now adequate to it, with the assistance of the sub-prefects, on condition that they are very assiduous. But let us suppose that there were no prefects and sub-prefects, but in their place petty deliberative assemblies, and we shall comprehend what disorder must prevail in such an administration. These forty and odd thousand communes were, therefore, reduced to five thousand cantonal municipalities, composed of the union of several communes into one. It was intended, in thus uniting several communes under one government, to give them a government in the first place, and, in the next, to place them nearer to the central authority, and more under its eye. The consequence soon was, a still more frightful confusion than that which this measure was designed to put an end to. These five thousand cantonal municipalities were too numerous, and too far distant from the central authority to be under its eye; and, without being brought nearer to the government, they were mischievously removed farther from the population which they were destined to govern. The communal administration is made to be placed as near as possible to the spot. The magistrate, who registers the births, the deaths, and the marriages, who attends to the police and the salubrity of the place, who keeps in repair the fountain, the church, and the hospital, of the village or town, ought to reside in the village or the town itself, to live, in short, amidst his fellow-citizens. These cantonal municipalities had, therefore, led to a useless displacement of the domestic authority, without having brought the local affairs sufficiently within the ken of government for it to watch them. Add to this, that nothing was then properly done, owing to the disorder of the time, and the reader may form some conception of the confusion that must have resulted from the vice of the institution, aggravated by the vice of circumstances.

A last cause of disorder had associated itself with all the others. It is not only necessary to carry on the business of the State and of the communes; it is also requisite to judge; for the citizens may have reason to complain, sometimes that, in marking out a street or a road, their property has been encroached on; at others, that, in the valuation of their property for the purpose of taxing them, they have been [illegible]. Under the ancient government, the [illegible]

at that time to the executive authority, (as wa
sed in the resistance of the parliaments to the
nary justice had assumed cognizance in all c
eux administratif (points at issue between the
private individuals). This was a serious inc
civil judges are bad dispensers of administrat
ng in a manner strangers to the subject. Our
ors, during the Revolution, perfectly sensible
venience, imagined that they could resolve the
relinquishing the whole of the *contentieux ad*
the petty local assemblies, to which they had con
ministration. Now, figure to yourself these coll
nistrations superseding what, at this day, we call
-prefects, *maires*, charged to do all that they d
ide, moreover, all questions that are now submit
ncils of prefecture, and you will have a tolera
of the confusion which then reigned. Even
it of order which now prevails, the result would be
to this the revolutionary passions, and you will comp
v much worse a chaos this must be. Hence it was t
essments of the contributions were never finished, t
lection of the taxes was several years in arrear, t
ances were in ruin, the armies in distress. The re
ne was sometimes carried into execution, owing to th
ionary passions, which had produced the evil, but
l contributed to remedy it in part; for, having for
nciple an inordinate but ardent love of France, her
s, and her liberty, they impelled the populace eage
the army.

such a posture of affairs the First Consul may be sa
been a special envoy of Providence. His simple, clea
tanding, guided by an active and resolute character,
ed to lead him to the solution of these difficulties.
ion had placed at the head of the State an execu
l a legislative power: the executive power conc
st entirely in a single hand; and the legislat
divided into several deliberative assemblies. It
to place, at each step of the administrative ladder,
tative of the executive power, specially charged to ac
is side, merely to check or to enlighten, but not to ac
ad, a small deliberative assembly, such as a council o
t, of arrondissement, or of commune. To this simple,
fertile idea we owe the excellent administration which
his day in France. The First Consul decided to hav
department a prefect, charged not to urge a collecti
ration to the despatch of the business of the State, but to
imself; charged, at the same time, to manage the de-
ental affairs, but conjointly with a council of department,
om the resources voted by that council. As the system

unicipalities was universally condemned, and
or of all the circumscriptions of France, had, in
ution, laid down the principle of the circumscrip
sement, the First Consul resolved to employ it
lispense with cantonal administrations. To be
mmunal administration was replaced where it bu
t is, in the commune itself, town, or village;
commune and the department there was created
ate administrative step, that is, the arrondisseme
he prefect and the *maire* there was to be a sub-prefe
nder the superintendence of the prefect, with directi
number of communes, sixty, eighty, a hundred, mo
according to the importance of the departme
the commune itself there was to be a *maire*, wi
power, and possessing further, a deliberative voice
cipal council—a *maire*, a direct and dependent ag
neral authority for the despatch of the business of
he agent of the commune in all local affairs, manag
crests of the latter jointly with it, under the super
ce, however, of the prefect and of the sub-prefect, a
uently of the State.

is that admirable hierarchy, to which France owes
stration incomparable for the energy, the precision, of
and the accuracy of its accounts, and which is so exc
hat, in six months, as we shall see by and by, it was su
o restore order in France, under the impulsion, it is tr
nique genius, the First Consul, and under a favour
nstances unique also; for there prevailed everywher
r of disorder, an ardent longing for order, disgust v
ng, and a liking for prompt and positive results.

here was still left the question of the *contentieux*, that i
of the administrative justice, charged to take care that
payer should not be burdened beyond his ability; that
ing property on the bank of a rivulet or in a street, s
xposed to encroachments; that the contractor for w
d for by the town or the State should find a judge
cts with the commune or the government—a difficult
e ordinary tribunals being admitted to be improper fo
g this kind of case. The principle of a judicious di
owers was again applied here with great advantage.
fect, the sub-prefect, the *maire*, charged with the admi
action, might be suspected of partiality, inclined to n
will prevail, for the injured applicant for justice usual
omplain of their own acts. The councils of department,
ssement, and of commune, might and ought to appe
nable also, for they most frequently have a contrary in
the plaintiff. The administration of justice, moreover, is
and continual labour, and neither the Councils of departmer
the Communal councils were meant hereafter to be perma

The First Consul wanted them for about a fortnight in the year, just long enough to submit their affairs to them, to take their advice, to make them vote their expenses. What was wanted, on the contrary, was an administrative tribunal sitting without interruption. A special court was, therefore, instituted, a tribunal of four or five judges, sitting by the side of the prefect, judging with him, a sort of miniature Council of State, expounding the law to the prefect, as the Council of State lends its legal knowledge to ministers, subject, moreover, to the jurisdiction of this supreme Council by way of appeal. These are the tribunals still called at the present time councils of prefecture, and the equity of which has never been disputed.

Such was the provincial and communal government in France: a single head, prefect, sub-prefect, or *maire*, transacting all the business; a deliberative council, the council of department, of arrondissement, or of commune, voting the local expenses; then a small judicial body, placed beside the prefect merely to dispense administrative justice; a government subordinate, in an absolute manner, to the general government in all affairs of the State, superintended and directed, but having its own views in all departmental and communal affairs. Order has not ceased to reign, any more than justice, since this excellent and simple institution has existed among us, that is to say, for nearly half a century: be it understood, however, that the words order and justice, like all the words of human language, have but a relative value, and signify that there have been in France, in the administrative department, as little disorder, as little injustice, as can possibly be wished, in a great country.

The First Consul naturally desired that the prefects, sub-prefects, and *maires*, should be in the nomination of the executive power, for they were its direct agents; they ought to be fraught with its will; and even in local affairs which they had to manage, according to local views, it was requisite that they should render them subservient to the general policy of the State. But it would not have been natural for the executive power to nominate the members of the councils of department, of arrondissement, and of commune, charged to check the agents of the administration, and to vote them supplies. It was the Constitution which led him to this claim, and which justified it. "Confidence must come from below," said M. Sieyès; "power must come from above." According to this maxim, the nation gave its confidence by inscription in the lists of notability; the supreme authority conferred power by choosing its agents out of these lists. The Senate was charged to elect all the political deliberative bodies. Now the councils, engaged with local interests, being considered as forming part of the general administration of the Republic, the executive power, according to the Constitution, was to nominate them, and to

select them out of the lists of notability. By virtue, therefore, of the spirit, and even of the letter of the Constitution, the First Consul was to choose out of the lists of the departmental notability the members of the councils of department; out of the lists of the notability of arrondissement the members of the councils of arrondissement; lastly, out of the lists of the communal notability the members of the municipal councils. This power, excessive in ordinary times, was necessary at this moment. Election, in fact, was as impossible for the formation of the local councils, as it was for the formation of the great political assemblies. It would but have given rise to mischievous agitations, and yielded petty triumphs to all the extreme parties, instead of producing a peaceful and salutary fusion of all the moderate parties—a fusion which was indispensable for founding a new society with the collected wrecks of the old.

The judicial organisation was planned with equal skill. It had the twofold object of placing justice nearer to those who needed it, and, at the same time, of ensuring to them, above the local justice, if they chose to have recourse to it, tribunals of appeal, distant, but placed high, and possessing intelligence and impartiality, in proportion to the height of their position.

Our first revolutionary legislators, owing to the aversion excited by the parliaments, had suppressed the courts of appeal, and placed in each department a single tribunal, presenting a first step of jurisdiction for litigants (*justiciables*) of the department, and a second step of jurisdiction, a tribunal of appeal, for the neighbouring departments. The appeal was made, not from an inferior tribunal to a superior tribunal, but from a neighbouring tribunal to a neighbouring tribunal. Below, were the justices of peace; above, the court of cassation. The single tribunal for the department being found too far distant for those who had occasion to resort to it, the competence of justices of peace had been extended, so as to dispense the citizens from going too often to the chief town. There had also been instituted four or five hundred correctional tribunals, charged with repressing petty misdemeanours. The criminal jury sat at the chief town, the seat of the central tribunal.

This judicial organisation had not succeeded better than the cantonal municipalities. The justices of peace, whose competence had been extended too far, were not equal to their task. The courts of the first class, being seated at the chief town were placed too far off; the courts of appeal became nearly illusory, for appeal is useless, unless it be to a tribunal of superior intelligence. Supreme courts, like the parliaments formerly, like the royal courts at the present day, numbering among their members many eminent magistrates, and around them a renowned bar, present a superiority of knowledge to which one may be tempted to recur; but to appeal from one

tribunal of first instance to another tribunal of fi[illegible] preposterous. The tribunals of correctional police we[illegible] too numerous, and confined, moreover, to a single purpo[illegible] was evidently necessary to reform this judicial organisation. First Consul, adopting the ideas of his colleague, Cambacér[illegible] to whom he lent, on this occasion, the support of his sound sense and of his courage, caused that organisation to be adopted, which exists at the present day.

The circumscription of arrondissement, which had just been devised for the departmental administration, offered very great facility for the judicial administration. It presented the means of creating a first local court, placed very near to the litigants, without prejudice to the right of recurring to a court of appeal, placed farther off, and higher. There was instituted, therefore, a tribunal of first instance for each arrondissement, forming a first degree of jurisdiction; then, without fear of appearing to re-establish the ancient parliaments, the government determined to create tribunals of appeal. One for each department would be too much in point of number, too little as regarded the elevation of jurisdiction. Twenty-nine were created: this gave them nearly the importance of the ancient parliaments, and they were stationed in places which had formerly enjoyed the presence of those supreme courts. This was a restoration of an advantage to the localities which had been deprived of it. They were old depositaries of judicial traditions, the wrecks of which deserved to be collected. The bars of Aix, Dijon, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Rennes, and Paris, were so many constellations of science and of talent, which it was necessary to light up again.

The tribunals of first instance, established in each department, were charged, at the same time, with the correctional police, which rendered them doubly useful, and placed civil and repressive justice at the first step in the arrondissement. Criminal justice, always confided to the jury, was to be administered in the chief town of the department only, by means of judges detaching themselves from the tribunals of appeal, and coming to direct the jury; in short, to hold assizes. This part was not completed till a later period.

The department of justice, called the justice of peace, was to be reduced to a more limited competence, by means of the preceding arrangements. The law destined to reform it was deferred till the following session, for it was impossible to do every thing at once. But the determination was to retain, not without improving it, that justice of the people, paternal, expeditious, and not expensive. Above the judicial edifice was kept, with some modifications, and a repressive jurisdiction over all the magistrates, the Tribunal of Cassation, one of the best institutions of the French Revolution—a tribunal which is not destined to decide a third time what the tribunals of first instance and appeal

[redacted]ried twice, but which, disregarding the merits of [redacted]tervenes only when any doubt arises relative to the [redacted]ction of the law, determines that construction by a series [redacted]crees, and thus adds to the unity of the text, emanating [redacted]om the legislature, the unity of interpretation emanating from a supreme jurisdiction, common to the whole territory.

It is, therefore, from this year 1800—a year so eventful—that our judicial organisation takes date; it has since consisted of nearly two thousand *juges de paix*, popular magistrates, dispensing justice to the poor at little expense; of nearly three hundred tribunals of first instance, one for each arrondissement, dispensing civil and correctional justice at the first step; of twenty-nine supreme tribunals,* dispensing civil justice on appeal, and criminal justice by means of detached judges, who repair to the chief town of each department to hold assizes; lastly, of the Court of Cassation, placed above the whole judicial hierarchy, interpreting the laws, and completing the unity of legislation by the unity of jurisprudence.

The two laws in question were too urgently required, and too ably conceived to meet with serious obstacles. They had, nevertheless, to sustain more than one attack in the Tribunate. Paltry objections were raised against the administrative system proposed. Little complaint was made of the concentration of authority in the hands of prefects, sub-prefects, *maires*, for that was in unison with the ideas of the day, and copied from the Constitution, which placed one sole chief at the head of the State; but there were persons who complained of the creation of three steps in the administrative ladder—the department, the arrondissement, the commune. They alleged, in particular, that the commune ought not to be reconstituted, because there would not be found *maires* sufficiently well-informed. It was, however, the restoration of domestic authority, and, in this point of view, the most popular conception that could be devised. As for the judicial organization, some said it was a restoration of parliaments; they complained, in particular, of the jurisdiction attributed to the Tribunal of Cassation over the inferior magistrates—all of them objections scarcely worth remembering. The two laws proposed were nevertheless adopted. Twenty or thirty voices, composing the bulk of the opposition in the Tribunate, voted against these laws, but three-fourths declared in favour of them. By the Legislative Body they were adopted almost unanimously. The law relative to the departmental administration took the date, so celebrated ever since, of the 28th Pluviose, year VIII. That relating to the judicial organization was dated 27th Ventôse, year VIII.

* We here give only approximative numbers, because the number of the tribunals has varied incessantly since that period, in consequence of the changes of territory which France has undergone. At the present time, for instance, there are but twenty-seven royal courts, or tribunals of appeal.

The First Consul, having no intention to leave them a dead letter in the Bulletin des Lois, nominated forthwith the prefects, sub-prefects, and *maires*. He was liable to commit more than one mistake, as must invariably happen when a great number of functionaries are hastily chosen at once. But an enlightened and vigilant government soon rectifies any errors in its first appointments. It is sufficient if the general spirit of them has been good. Now, the spirit of these appointments was excellent; it was at once firm, impartial, and conciliatory. The First Consul picked out from among all parties men reputed to be honest and capable, excluding only such as were violent, and even selecting some of the latter, if experience and time had led them back to moderation, which then formed the essential characteristic of his policy. He called to prefectures—which were important and well paid offices, for to some of them were attached salaries of 12,000, 15,000, and as much as 24,000 francs; equivalent to double what these amounts would be at present—to prefectures he called persons who had figured with credit in the great political assemblies, and who clearly indicated the tendency of his selections; for men, if they are not either things or principles, represent them, at least, in the eyes of the people. The First Consul appointed at Marseilles, for example, M. Charles Lacroix, ex-minister of foreign affairs; at Saintes, M. Français, of Nantes; at Lyons, M. Verninhac, formerly ambassador; at Nantes, M. Letourneur, late a member of the Directory; at Brussels, M. de Pontécoulant; at Rouen, M. Beugnot; at Amiens, M. Quinette; at Ghent, M. Faypoult, formerly minister of the finances. All these persons, and others, who were picked out from among the Constituent Assembly, the Legislative Assembly, the Convention, or the Five Hundred, from among the ministers, directors, and ambassadors of the Republic, were fitted to confer lustre on the new administrative functions, and to give to the government of the provinces the importance which it deserves to have. Most of them retained their places during the whole reign of the First Consul and Emperor. One of them, M. de Jessaint, was still prefect four years ago. For the prefecture of Paris the First Consul chose M. Frochot. He gave him, for colleague at the prefecture of police, M. Dubois, a magistrate, whose energy was useful in clearing the capital of all the evil-doers whom the parties had vomited forth into its bosom.

The same spirit presided over the judicial appointments. Honourable names, chosen from the ancient bar, the ancient magistracy, were combined, as much as possible, with new names borne by men of probity. When he could adorn these posts with striking names, the First Consul never failed to do so, for he was fond of *éclat* in every thing, and the time had arrived when it was possible, without too much danger, to borrow from the past. A magistrate of the name of d'Aguesseau was first on the

list of judicial nominations, in quality of president of the tribunal of appeal of Paris, now the Royal Court. No sooner were these functionaries appointed, than they received orders to set out immediately to take possession of their posts, and to contribute, each in his line, to the work of reorganization, which the young general made his constant occupation, of which he purposed to make his glory, and which, even after his prodigious victories, has, in fact, remained his most solid glory.

It was necessary to attend to every thing at once in that society, turned completely topsy-turvy. The emigrants, at the same time so criminal and so unfortunate, just objects alike of interest and aversion, for in their ranks were to be found men cruelly persecuted, and bad Frenchmen who had conspired against their country—the emigrants deserved the particular attention of the government. According to the last legislative enactment, a decree of the Directory or of the departmental administrations was sufficient to place any absent individual on the list of emigrants; from that moment all the property of such absent person was confiscated, and, if he was ever found upon the territory of the Republic, the law condemned him to death. A great number of persons, who had really emigrated, or only concealed themselves, not having been yet inscribed on the fatal list, either because they had been forgotten, or because no enemy happened to denounce them, were liable to be still inscribed there. Many lived in a state of perpetual alarm. To place them on that list at this time, it was sufficient for that enemy once to fall in with them, and they were then exposed to the operation of the laws of proscription. As for those who had been inscribed deservedly or not, they were arriving in great numbers to obtain their erasure. Their rash eagerness attested the confidence that was placed in the humanity of the government, but gave offence to certain revolutionists, some of whom had outrages against the returning emigrants to reproach themselves with, while others had acquired possession of their property. This was a new source of disorder; and, if it was necessary to cease to proscribe, it was equally necessary not to expose men who had taken part in the Revolution, even violently, to lead an uneasy life. To all those who had compromised themselves for it, the Revolution owed an entire security; for, unfortunately, men are in general either coldly selfish, or violent partisans of the cause which they have espoused, and, in this latter case, moderation is not their usual merit.

This state of things called urgently for a remedy. The government presented a bill (*projet de loi*), the first clause of which was designed to close the famous list of emigrants. From the 4th Nivôse, year VIII. (December 25th, 1799), the day on which the Constitution was put in force, the list was declared to be closed; that is to say, the fact of absence posterior to that date

could no longer be construed as emigration, and visited with the same penalties. People were permitted, in future, to absent themselves, to go from France to foreign countries, to come from foreign countries into France, without its being a punishable offence; for it is true, that for ten years to absent oneself had been a crime. Liberty to go and come was thus restored to all the citizens.

To this first clause was added the following: persons who had incurred, more or less, the charge of emigration, some of whom had quitted the territory of the Republic but for a moment, others merely concealed themselves to escape persecution, and who had fortunately been omitted in the list of emigrants, could not thenceforward be inscribed, unless by virtue of a decision of the ordinary tribunals; that is to say, of the jury. This was closing the list, in some measure, for them also; for, with the present spirit of the tribunals, there was no danger of its being increased by new names.

Lastly, while those who had not yet been inscribed were handed over to the tribunals, and the guarantees of ordinary justice were thus ensured to them, those who, having been unduly inscribed, or, alleging that they had been so, claimed their erasure, were referred to the administrative authority. Here the indulgent intention of the new government in regard to them was perceptible; for the new administrative authorities chosen by it, full of its spirit, could not fail to lend a favourable ear to claims of this kind. It was sufficient, in fact, to produce certificates of residence in any place whatever in France, certificates frequently false, to prove that one had been unjustly declared absent, and get one's name erased. With the general disposition to violate tyrannical laws, this method of obtaining erasure could not fail of succeeding. Emigrants desirous of obtaining their erasure were, moreover, allowed to enter France, under the *surveillance* of the political police. In the language of the time, this was called obtaining *surveillances;* great numbers of them were delivered; and thus the emigrants who were in most haste were enabled to anticipate the moment of their erasure. These *surveillances* even became a definitive recall for most of those who availed themselves of them.

As for the emigrants whose names could not be removed from the fatal list, on account of the notoriety of their emigration, the existing laws in regard to them were retained. The spirit of the time was such, that no other course could be pursued; for, if one felt pity for unfortunate persons, one was irritated against guilty men, who had left the French territory to bear arms against their native country, or to bring upon it the arms of foreigners. For the rest, in all cases, the erased or not erased had no claim upon their properties which had been sold. The sales were irrevocable, both by virtue of the Constitution, and in consequence of the dispositions of the new law. Those

who had obtained their erasure, and whose property had been sequestrated without being sold, could alone indulge a hope of its eventual recovery.

Such was the law proposed and adopted by an immense majority, notwithstanding some censures in the Tribunate from those who deemed that too much favour, or not enough, was shown in it to the emigrants.

Among the legal enactments then in force, which appeared intolerably tyrannical, was the interdiction of the right to bequeath property by will. The then existing laws allowed a dying person to dispose of no more than one tenth of his fortune, if he had children, and of one sixth, if he had none. These dispositions had been the result of the first revolutionary indignation against the abuses of the ancient French society, aristocratic society, in which paternal vanity, desirous sometimes to provide for an eldest son, sometimes to force the affections of his children by ill-assorted matches, despoiled some for the benefit of others. Giving way to one of those gusts of indignation so common to the human mind, the government, instead of reducing the paternal authority within just limits, had completely fettered it. A father could no longer reward or punish. He could, if he had children, dispose of nothing, or very little more, in favour of him who had deserved all his affection; and what is more extraordinary, if he had only nephews, near or distant, he could not give away more than an almost insignificant part of his fortune, namely, a sixth. This was a downright outrage on the right of property; and one of the severities of the revolutionary system that was most keenly felt; for Death sweeps off victims every day, and thousands expired without having the power to obey the dictates of their hearts in behalf of those who served, attended, cheered them in their old age.

It was not possible that such a reform as this could be delayed till the Civil Code should be drawn up. A law was proposed for re-establishing the right to dispose of property by will within certain limits. By virtue of this law, the dying father who had fewer than four children might dispose by will of a fourth of his fortune, of a fifth if he had fewer than five, and so on in the same proportion. He might dispose of half when he had only ascending or collateral relations, of the whole when he had no kindred qualified to inherit.

This measure was most attacked in the Tribunate, particularly by Andrieux, an honest, sincere man, but more sparkling than enlightened. He alleged that it was a return to the abuses of the right of primogeniture, to the violences practised under the ancient system upon children of rank, &c. This law passed, like the others, by an immense majority.

By another law the government instituted a tribunal of prizes, which had become indispensable for rendering impartial justice to neutrals and for conciliating them by better treatment. Lastly,

it called the attention of the two assemblies to the laws concerning the finances.

On this point there was little to say to the Legislative Body, the two legislative commissions having already passed the requisite laws. The administrative operations undertaken by the government in pursuance of these laws, with a view to reorganise the finances, were scarcely a subject for discussion. At any rate, it was necessary to settle, were it but for form's sake, the budget of the year VIII. If the collection had been regular, if the taxes imposed had been punctually paid, and not only paid by those on whom they were assessed, but faithfully handed over by the depositaries of the public money, the finances of the State would have been in a tolerable condition. The ordinary taxes might produce about 430,000,000; and this was the amount to which the government hoped to reduce the public expenditure in time of peace; nay, it even flattered itself with the prospect of bringing it down considerably lower. Experience soon proved that it was not possible, even in time of peace, to keep it under 500,000,000; but it proved also that it would be easy to raise that sum from the taxes, without increasing the rates. This estimate does not include the expenses of collection or the local expenses, which would raise the budget of that period, calculating as we now do, to 600,000,000 or 630,000,000.

It was only with reference to the war expenditure that the insufficiency of the receipts was great and certain; and in this there is nothing extraordinary, for it is the same everywhere. In no country whatever can war be carried on with the ordinary revenues of peace. If it could be done, it would be a proof that in time of peace the taxes were unnecessarily high. But, owing to the confusion of late years, nobody could tell if, with war, the budget would amount to 600,000,000, 700,000,000, or 800,000,000. On this point each made different conjectures. Experience proved likewise that the addition of about 150,000,000 to the ordinary budget would be sufficient to defray the expenses of the war, that is, with victorious armies living in an enemy's country. The budget of the year was therefore estimated at 600,000,000, for receipts as well as expenditure. As the ordinary revenues amounted to 430,000,000 there was a deficiency of 170,000,000. But this was not the real difficulty. On emerging from a financial chaos, it would have been too much to have attempted to equalize, all at once, the receipts and the expenditure. It was first necessary to get in the ordinary taxes. If this first result could be attained, the government was sure to have speedily wherewithal to meet the most urgent necessities, for credit would very soon feel the effect, and, with the paper of different kinds enumerated elsewhere, which had been created, it had in its hands the means of obtaining from moneyed men the funds requisite for all the ser-

vices. Such was the object of the unremitting efforts of M. Gaudin, seconded against all the difficulties which he encountered by the resolute and persevering will of the First Consul. The agents of the direct contributions recently established, displayed the greatest activity. The assessments were far advanced, and already in the course of collection. The bills of the receivers-general began to find their way into the coffers of the treasury, and to be discounted at a rate of interest that was not over usurious. The difficulty in carrying out this system of bills consisted always in the quantity of paper circulating, which it was difficult to ascertain, especially with reference to each general receipt. A receiver who ought to gather 20,000,000, for example, could not sign bills for that sum, if he had to take 6,000,000 or 8,000,000 in dead assets, in *bons d'arrérage*, *bons de réquisition*, &c. The minister applied himself to withdraw these papers, to estimate what amount in them was likely to figure in each general receipt, and to make the receivers-general sign bills for the sum in cash which, as he calculated, would come into their coffers.

During this same session, there was instituted a new class of accountable officers destined to ensure the more punctual transmission of moneys to the treasury; these were the receivers of arrondissement. Hitherto there had been no other intermediate person between the collectors placed near the tax-payers and the receiver-general residing in the chief town, than the clerks of receipts, agents of the receiver-general, dependents of his, telling the truth to him alone. It was, nevertheless, one of the points of passage where the payment of money into the public chests might be best watched and ascertained. This point had been unfortunately neglected. Particular receivers were now appointed in each arrondissement, dependent on the State, bound to report to it what they received and what they paid to the receiver-general, well-informed and disinterested witnesses as to the sums actually collected, for they made no profit by the stoppage of the public funds in the hands of the accountable officers. From this institution the government derived the advantage of being more accurately informed of the state of the receipts, and of getting into its hands new securities in ready money, which would be a matter of indifference now, but was not so then; lastly, it had the further advantage of introducing the system of circumscription by arrondissement, recently devised. Civil and correctional justice and a considerable part of the communal administration had been already established at the centre of the arrondissement; by fixing there also part of the financial administration, greater benefit was derived from this circumscription, which certain persons alleged to be only an arbitrary subdivision of territory. Since it had, on certain accounts, been deemed indispensable, one could not do better than multiply the use of it, and render it real, instead of artificial, as it was

accused of being. The prefects and sub-prefects had orders to visit the receivers, and, by inspecting their books, to check the punctuality of their payments. For this there is now, fortunately, no occasion; but, at the period which we are describing, when every thing was but roughly sketched, it was applying useful stimulants to accountable officers, to send prefects and sub-prefects to inspect their chests.

The reorganisation of the finances could not, therefore, proceed more rapidly. But public assemblies appreciate only realised results. People could not see all the truly useful things introduced into the interior of the administration. In the Tribunate they descanted endlessly on the great question of the equalization of the receipts and the expenditure; they complained of the deficit; they brought forward a thousand schemes, and there were members so irrational as to propose to negative the financial measures under discussion, till the government should find some expedient for securing equilibrium between the receipts and the expenditure. But all these propositions led to no results. The proposed laws were adopted by a great majority in the Tribunate, and almost unanimously in the Legislative Body.

An institution, worthy of being mentioned in history, was added to those, the creation of which has already been recorded; this was the Bank of France. The old discounting establishments had perished amidst the disorders of the Revolution; it was not possible, however, for Paris to dispense with a bank. In every commercial centre, where a certain activity prevails, there is wanted a convenient circulating medium for payments, that is to say, a paper money, and an establishment discounting, on a large scale, the bills of merchants. These two branches of business indeed, work well together; for the cash received, in exchange for circulating notes, furnishes the very funds that may be lent to the community in the shape of discounts. In fact, wherever there is any business doing, however inconsiderable, a bank must prosper, if it discounts none but good paper, and if it issues no more notes than are wanted; in short, if it confines its operations to the legitimate wants of the place where it is established. This was what required to be done in Paris, and what could not fail to succeed, if it were well done. This new bank was to do business not only with private persons, but also with the treasury, and thus if it made profits, it had also services to render. The government had recourse to the principal bankers of the capital; M. Perregaux, a financier whose name is connected with all the eminent services rendered at that time to the State, put himself at their head, and an association of wealthy capitalists was formed for the establishment of a bank, called the Bank of France, the same that still exists. The capital was fixed at 30,000,000 francs. This bank was to be managed by fifteen directors, and a committee of three persons, since replaced by a governor. According

to its statutes; it was to discount commercial paper, originating in legitimate and not fictitious transactions, to issue notes circulating like money, and to abstain from all speculations foreign to discount and bullion business. Adhering to its statutes, it has become the most flourishing establishment of the kind known in the world. We shall see presently what was done by the government to impart to the operations of this bank that energy and scope which caused it to prosper from the very first days of its existence.

While the consular government, in concert with the Legislative Body, was devoting itself to these vast labours of internal administration, the negotiations with the powers, friendly or belligerent, were continued without interruption. The letter of the First Consul to the King of England elicited an immediate answer. The First Consul had written on the 26th of December (5th Nivôse); the answer was dated the 4th of January (14th Nivôse). The resolution of the English cabinet was, in fact, taken beforehand, and it had no need to deliberate. In 1797, indeed, England might think of treating, and send Lord Malmesbury to Lille, when her finances were embarrassed, when Austria was obliged to sign the peace of the Continent at Campo-Formio: but now that the income-tax had more than replenished her exchequer, now that Austria, again at war with us, had pushed her armies to our frontiers, now that she was bent on wresting from us the important positions of Malta and Egypt, and on avenging the affront of the Texel, peace could not be very desirable to that power. She had, besides, a still stronger reason for refusing it; this was, that war suited the passions and the interests of Mr. Pitt. This celebrated head of the British cabinet had made the war with France his mission, his glory, the foundation of his political existence. If peace became necessary, he should, perhaps, be obliged to retire. He brought to the conflict that obstinacy of character which, combined with his rhetorical talents, had made him a powerful, but not very enlightened statesman. The reply could not be doubtful; it was negative and uncivil. The answer was not addressed directly to the First Consul; but, adhering to the custom, an excellent one, by the by, of communicating from minister to minister, the English cabinet replied in a note from Lord Grenville to M. de Talleyrand.

This note clumsily betrayed the displeasure caused to Mr. Pitt by this challenge, not to war, but to peace, addressed by the First Consul to England. It contained a recapitulation, everlastingly repeated for several years, of the origin of the war; it imputed the first aggression to the French Republic; reproached it, in violent language, with the ravages committed in Germany, in Holland, in Switzerland, and in Italy; it made mention even of rapine practised by our generals in the latter country; and, coupled with this reproach, that of a design to overthrow, everywhere, the

throne and the altar; and then, coming to the late overtures of the First Consul, the English minister said that these feigned pacific demonstrations were not the first of the same kind; that the various revolutionary governments, successively erected and overthrown for ten years past, had more than once made similar overtures; that his Majesty the King of Great Britain could not yet discover, in what was passing in France, a change of principles capable of satisfying and tranquillising Europe; that the only change which could give it complete security would be the re-establishment of the house of Bourbon; that then alone social order would appear to be out of danger; that, for the rest, the re-establishment of that house was not made the absolute condition of peace with the French Republic, but that, until new symptoms more significant and more satisfactory, England would persist in fighting as well for her own safety as for that of her allies.

This indecorous note, which was disapproved by sensible men in all countries, did little honour to Mr. Pitt; it indicated in him more passion than understanding. It proved that a new government needs many victories to make itself respected; for the present government had already gained numerous and signal victories, but evidently it needed still greater. The First Consul was not disconcerted, and, wishing to profit by the favourable position which the moderation of his conduct gave him in the eyes of the world, he returned a mild but firm answer, not again in the form of a letter to the king, but in the form of a despatch addressed to Lord Grenville, the minister for foreign affairs. Recapitulating, in a few words, the first events of the war, he proved, in very temperate language, that France had taken up arms solely for the purpose of resisting a European conspiracy, formed against her safety; admitting the calamities which the Revolution had brought upon the whole world, he insinuated, by the way, that those who had persecuted the French Republic with such rancour ought, by right, to reproach themselves with being the real cause of the violences so often deplored. "But," added he, "what is the use of reverting to these circumstances? Here is now a government disposed to put an end to the war; is the war to be endless, because this or the other was the aggressor? And, unless there is a desire to render it interminable, ought not an end to be put to these incessant recriminations? Assuredly no one can hope to obtain from France the re-establishment of the Bourbons; is it, then, decorous to make insinuations such as those which have been indulged in? And what would be said, if France, in her communications, were to call upon England to replace on the throne that family of the Stuarts which descended from it only in the last century? But, setting aside all these irritating questions," added the note dictated by the First Consul, "if you deplore, like us, the evils of war, let us agree to a suspension of arms; let us fix upon a town, Dunkirk, for instance, or any other, at

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your option, where the negotiators shall meet; the French government places at the disposal of Great Britain passports for the ministers whom she shall have invested with her powers."

This calm attitude produced the effect usually produced by a cool man on an angry man; it drew from Lord Grenville a reply still more vehement, more acrimonious, more illogical, than his first note. In this reply, the English minister sought to palliate the blunder which he had committed in adverting to the house of Bourbon; answered that it was not for that house that war was waged, but for the safety of all governments, and again declared that hostilities would be prosecuted without relaxation. This last communication was dated the 20th of January (30th Nivôse). There was not another word to be said. General Bonaparte had done enough: confiding in his glory, he had not been afraid to offer peace; he had offered it, without much hope, but in perfect sincerity; and by this step he had gained the twofold advantage of unveiling the unreasonable passions of Mr. Pitt, as well to the eyes of France as to the eyes of the English opposition. Happy had it been, if he had at all times united with his power that moderation of conduct so skilfully turned to account!

The communications of Austria were more decorous, without affording more hope of peace. That power, not imagining that the intentions of the First Consul, though very pacific, could go so far as the relinquishment of Italy in her favour, was resolved to continue the war; but, acquainted with the conqueror of Castiglione and Rivoli, knowing that whoever had him for adversary must not be too confident of victory, she would not bar every way to ulterior negotiations.

As if Austria had an understanding with England respecting form, the answer of the emperor to the First Consul was a despatch from M. Thugut to M. de Talleyrand. This despatch was dated the 15th of January (25th Nivôse). The substance was the same as that of the English notes. If war was carried on, it alleged that it was only to preserve Europe from a general convulsion: Austria wished for nothing more than to see France disposed to peace; but what guarantee did she offer for her new dispositions? It was admitted, however, that, under the First Consul, there was reason to hope for more moderation at home and abroad, more stability of purpose, more fidelity to engagements made; and that there would thence result more chances for a solid and lasting peace. This happy change was expected from his eminent talents; but, without saying so, it was insinuated that, when it should be completely effected, it would be time enough to think of negotiating.

The First Consul, acting with Austria as with England, was not to be put off with this evasive explanation. Without being discouraged by the vagueness of the answer, he resolved to reduce the cabinet of Vienna to the necessity of giving a positive

explanation, and of refusing or accepting peace in a categorical manner. On the 28th of February (9th Ventôse), M. de Talleyrand was directed to write to M. de Thugut, and to offer to take for the basis of negotiations the treaty of Campo-Formio. This treaty, he said, had been an act of great moderation towards the Emperor of Austria on the part of General Bonaparte; for, having it in his power, in 1797, to extort great sacrifices from that prince, owing to the threatening position of the French army at the gates of Vienna, he had, in the hope of a durable peace, preferred moderate advantages to more extensive advantages; he had even incurred the censure of the Directory, added the French minister, by his clemency to the imperial court. Lastly, M. de Talleyrand declared that Austria should receive in Italy the indemnifications which, by the treaty of Campo Formio, were promised her in Germany.

To comprehend the drift of the propositions of the First Consul, we must recollect that the treaty of Campo-Formio gave, to France, Belgium and Luxemburg; to the Cisalpine Republic, Lombardy, Mantua, the Legations, &c.; and that Austria received, by way of indemnification, Venice and the greater part of the Venetian states. With respect to the line of the Rhine, embracing, besides Belgium and Luxemburg, the countries comprised between the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine, in short, what we now call the Rhenish Provinces, Austria was to mediate for the purpose of obtaining the cession of them to France by the Germanic Empire. Austria, on her own part, ceded, henceforward, the county of Falkenstein, situated between Lorraine and Alsace, and engaged to open to the French troops the gates of Mayence, which she occupied on behalf of the Empire. By way of compensation, Austria was to receive the bishopric of Salzburg, contiguous to Bavaria, when the ecclesiastical provinces should be secularised. These various arrangements were to be negotiated at the congress of Rastadt, terminated so tragically in 1799 by the murder of the French plenipotentiaries. Such was the treaty of Campo-Formio.

In offering this treaty as the basis of a new negotiation, the First Consul, therefore, did not resolve the question of the line of the Rhine in regard to the Rhenish Provinces; he decided only the question respecting Belgium, irrevocably ceded to France, leaving the question of the Rhenish Provinces to an ulterior negotiation with the Empire; and, by offering in Italy the compensations formerly stipulated in Germany, he insinuated that the success obtained by Austria in Italy should be taken into consideration, and have the effect of placing her in a better position in that country. He added that, for the second-rate powers of Europe, there should be stipulated a system of guarantees, calculated to restore in its full force that law of nations, on which the safety and the happiness of nations essentially depend. This was an allusion to the invasion of Switzerland, of Piedmont, of

Tuscany, of the Papal States, and of Naples, for which the Directory was so bitterly reproached, and which had been made the pretext for the second coalition; it was a pretty clear offer to re-establish those different States, and thus to make Europe easy concerning the alleged invasions of the French Republic.

More could not be granted: and nothing but the need which France then had of peace could have induced the First Consul to make such offers. And, as he never did things by halves, he addressed to Austria, as well as to England, the formal proposition of a suspension of arms, not only on the Rhine, where that suspension already existed, but also on the Alps and the Apennines, where it did not yet exist.

On the 24th of March (3rd Germinal), M. de Thugut replied, and in very moderate terms, that the treaty of Campo-Formio, violated as soon as concluded, did not contain a system of pacification capable of satisfying the belligerent powers; that the true principle, adopted in all negotiations, was to take for basis the state in which the fortune of arms had left each power; that this was the only basis on which Austria could treat. M. de Thugut added that, before proceeding any farther he had an inquiry to make relative to the form of the negotiation; that it was important for him to know whether France would admit the negotiators of all the States at war, in order to arrive at a general peace, the only one which was fair and prudent, the only one to which Austria could accede.

This language proved two things: firstly, that Austria, in proposing for the point of departure the actual state, that is to say, the situation in which the last campaign had left each power, cherished high pretensions in regard to Italy; secondly, that she would not separate from England, to whom she was closely bound by subsidiary treaties. This fidelity to England was, on her part, a duty imposed by her position, which, as we shall see by and by, influenced the turn of the negotiations and of the war.

Such an answer, though civil in its terms, left little hope of coming to an understanding, since it made the conduct of a power disposed to listen to some words of peace, depend on the conduct of a power determined not to listen to any. General Bonaparte, nevertheless, directed a reply to be sent to this effect: that, in offering indemnifications in Italy, for those stipulated formerly in Germany, he proposed implicitly to start, not from the *status ante bellum*, but from the *status post bellum*, that is, to take into account the successes of Austria in Italy; that the overtures made by him to England proved his desire to render the peace general; that he had little hope, however, from a negotiation common to all the belligerent powers, as England was adverse to accommodation; but that he admitted purely and simply the propositions of Austria; that he awaited, in consequence, the designation of the place where they might treat; and that, as

there was a determination to continue to fight, it ought to be fixed out of the theatre of the war.

Austria declared that, such being the intentions of the French cabinet, she would communicate with her allies; but that, till she had consulted them, it would be impossible to fix upon any particular place. This was deferring the negotiation for an indefinite term.

The First Consul, in addressing these overtures to England and Austria, had not indulged in any illusion as to their result; but he wished to try the effect of pacific advances, in the first place, because he desired peace, considering it as necessary for the organisation of the new government; secondly, because he judged that this step would raise him in the estimation of France and of Europe.

His calculations were completely justified by what passed in the English parliament. Mr. Pitt, by his uncourteous manner of replying to the overtures of France, drew upon himself violent and deserved attacks. Never had the opposition of Fox and Sheridan been more nobly inspired; never had it shed such lustre, and merited more justly the esteem of the honest men of all countries.

In fact, there was scarcely any motive to justify the continuance of the war; for England was then in a position to obtain all that she could reasonably wish. It is true that she would scarcely have obtained the relinquishment of Egypt; but, as she was willing, a few months afterwards, to leave it to us (the ulterior negotiations will prove this), she might have consented to it at once; and, at this price, she would have retained her conquests, the Indies included, and she would have spared herself the immense dangers to which her obstinacy exposed her at a later period. It was, therefore, at bottom, nothing but a ministerial interest which induced the British cabinet to prosecute the war with such rancour. The animadversions of the opposition were strong, and incessantly repeated. They demanded and obtained copies of the papers relative to the negotiation, and the most violent debates on the subject ensued. The ministers insisted that it was impossible to negotiate with the French government, because there was no safety in treating with it; that by its bad faith it had successively drawn upon itself war with the whole world, Denmark and Sweden excepted, and that its relations, even with these two countries, were impaired; that peace with this government was deceitful and ruinous, witness the States of Italy; that, after having been the aggressor towards all the princes of Europe, it designed to dethrone them all; for it was consumed by an incessant thirst for conquest and destruction; that General Bonaparte offered no more guarantees than his predecessors; that, if the new French government was no longer terrorist, it was still revolutionary, and with the French Revolution no hope of peace or truce could be indulged; that, if it could not be annihilated, it must at least

be exhausted, till it was so weakened that there was nothing further to be feared from it. The English ministers, especially Lord Grenville, made use of the most insulting language in speaking of the First Consul. They treated him much as they had done Robespierre.

Fox, Sheridan, Tierney, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Holland, replied with the highest reason to these allegations. "You ask who was the aggressor," said they, "and what signifies that? You say that it was France; France says that it was England. Must we then continue to tear each other in pieces till we can agree about this point of history? And of what consequence is it who was the aggressor, if the one whom you accuse of being so makes the first offer to lay down arms? You say that it is impossible to treat with the French government; but you yourselves sent Lord Malmesbury to Lille to treat with the Directory. Prussia and Spain have treated with the French Republic, and have had no reason to complain of it. You talk of the crimes of that government; but your ally, the court of Naples, is committing crimes infinitely more atrocious than those of the Convention; for it has not the excuse of popular excitement. You talk of ambition; but Russia, Prussia, and Austria have partitioned Poland; but Austria has just reconquered Italy, without restoring their dominions to the princes whom France had dispossessed; you are yourselves seizing India, part of the Spanish colonies, and all the Dutch colonies. Who will dare to proclaim himself more disinterested than another in this conflict of rage and avidity, in which all the States are engaged? Either you will never treat with the French Republic, or you will never find a more favourable moment than the present; for an energetic man, a man who is obeyed, has just seized the supreme power, and seems disposed to exercise it with justice and moderation. Is it worthy of the English government to cover with abuse an illustrious personage, the head of one of the first nations in the world, and who is at least a great captain, whatever may be the vices or the virtues which time shall hereafter develop in him? Unless we say that we are determined to exhaust Great Britain, her blood, her treasures, all her most valuable resources, for the re-establishment of the house of Bourbon, we can assign no good reason for refusing to treat at this moment."

To arguments so conclusive and so clear, no reply could be given. Mr. Tierney, seizing the occasion offered by the fault which the English administration had committed, in adverting, in its notes, to the re-establishment of the house of Bourbon, made a special motion against that house. He proposed the adoption of a formal resolution, declaring the separation of the cause of England from the cause of the Bourbons, a race so pernicious to both countries, he exclaimed, to Great Britain as well as to France! "I have heard," he continued, "I have heard many partisans of the administration of Mr. Pitt assert, that the French go-

vernment, not having proposed a collective negotiation, there might be just cause for refusing a separate negotiation, which would weaken by severing us from our allies; but I have not met with one who did not severely censure this manner of fixing the term of the war at the restoration of the house of Bourbon." And it is true, as Tierney said, that every body had censured that fault, and that the cabinet of Vienna, less influenced by passion than the British cabinet, had taken good care not to imitate it. The English ministers replied that they had not introduced that condition as absolute and indispensable, but they were told, and truly, that the mention of it constituted a violation of the law of nations—an attack on the liberty of nations. "And what would you say," cried Mr. Tierney (repeating here the argument of the French cabinet), "what would you say if General Bonaparte, when victorious, should declare that he would not treat unless with the Stuarts? Besides," added he, "is it out of gratitude to the house of Bourbon that you are lavishing our blood and our treasure? Recollect the American war! Or is it not rather for the principle that it represents? Will you, then, rouse against yourselves all the passions that excited France to rise against the Bourbons? Will you draw upon yourselves the animosity of all those who will not have any more nobles—of all those who will not have any more tithes or feudal rights—of all those who have acquired national domains—of all those who have borne arms ten years for the French Revolution? Will you, then, drain to the last drop the blood of so many Frenchmen, before you think of negotiating? I move," concluded Mr. Tierney, "that England separates her cause from that of the house of Bourbon."

On another occasion, the celebrated Sheridan, always the boldest and the most pungent of speakers,—Sheridan turned the debate upon a very sore point for the British cabinet—the expedition to Holland, in consequence of which the English and Russians, defeated by General Brune, had been obliged to capitulate. "It seems," said Mr. Sheridan, "that if our government cannot conclude treaties of peace with the French Republic, it can at least conclude capitulations. I ask it to explain to us the motives of that which it has signed for the evacuation of Holland." Mr. Dundas, thus challenged, assigned three motives for the expedition to Holland: the first, to detach the United Provinces from France; the second, to diminish the maritime strength of France, and to augment that of England, by taking the Dutch fleet; the third, to make a useful diversion for the allies; and he added, that the British cabinet had succeeded in two points out of the three, since it had possession of the fleet, and had contributed to the victory gained at Novi, by drawing to Holland the troops destined for Italy. No sooner had the minister finished, than Sheridan, closing upon him, retorted, with incomparable point: "Yes, you credited the

reports of emigrants, and risked upon the continent an English army, to cover it with disgrace. You sought to detach Holland from France, and you have attached it to her more strongly than ever, by filling it with indignation at the iniquitous seizure of its fleet and of its colonies. You have possession, you say, of the Dutch fleet; but by an unheard of, an odious, proceeding; by exciting the crews to mutiny, by exhibiting a spectacle of the most mischievous kind, that of sailors revolting against their officers, violating that discipline which constitutes the strength of navies and the greatness of our nation. You have thus ignominiously seized on that fleet, not for England, at any rate, but for the stadtholder; for you have been obliged to declare that it was for him, and not for England. Lastly, you have rendered a service to the Austrian army at Novi; that is possible; but do you boast, then, ministers of the King of Great Britain, of having saved an Austrian army, by giving up an English army to slaughter?"

These virulent attacks did not prevent Mr. Pitt from obtaining immense financial supplies, about 44,000,000*l.* sterling, (nearly double the budget of France at that period); the authorisation to grant subsidies to Austria, and to the States of Southern Germany; important additions to the income-tax, which already produced 7,200,000*l.* sterling per annum; a new suspension of the Habeas Corpus; and, lastly, the important measure of a union with Ireland. But in England the public was deeply moved by so much sound reason and eloquence. Rational men throughout all Europe were struck by the wrongs done to France, and, victory siding with justice, Mr. Pitt was destined ere long to atone, by severe humiliations, for the superciliousness of his policy towards the First Consul. Meanwhile, Mr. Pitt was enabled to furnish the coalition with the means for a new campaign; the last, it is true, on account of the exhaustion of the belligerent parties, and the most fiercely contested, precisely because it was to be the last.

In this critical juncture, the First Consul sought to derive from the court of Prussia all the utility that could be expected from it for the present. That court would not have been able, in the face of such powerful adversaries, to restore peace in any other way than by having recourse to an armed mediation, a part not impossible for it to play, but totally inconsistent with the views of the young king, who was applying himself to recruit his treasury and his army, while all around him were exhausting themselves. This prince had already sounded the belligerent powers, and had found them so far from the mark, that he had renounced the office of interposing between them. Besides, the Prussian cabinet had certain interested views of its own. It had no objection that France should exhaust Austria, and that she should exhaust herself, in a prolonged struggle; but it would have wished her to relinquish part of the line of the Rhine, and, contenting herself with Belgium and Luxem-

burg, in that quarter, not to lay claim to the Rhenish provinces. It urged the First Consul to adopt these views, hinting that France and Prussia, if less close neighbours, would be the better friends, while the European cabinets, soothed by this moderation of France, would be the more inclined to peace. But, though the First Consul had used great reserve in explaining himself on this point, at bottom there was very little hope of deciding him to this sacrifice; and in all this the cabinet of Berlin could not perceive any prospect of such a peace as could alone satisfy Prussia, and merit her active intervention. It was, therefore, prodigal of advice, administered in a dogmatic though friendly shape, but it abstained from acting.

Still this cabinet might be useful in maintaining the neutrality of the north of Germany, in persuading as many German princes as possible to enter into that neutrality; lastly, in detaching the Emperor Paul from the coalition. As for these objects, it did labour with zeal to accomplish them, because it was solicitous to strengthen and extend the neutrality of the north of Germany, and particularly to bring over Russia to its views. Paul, ever extreme in his sentiments, became every day more exasperated against Austria and England; he declared publicly that he would certainly oblige Austria to replace the Italian princes on their thrones, which she had reconquered with the arms of Russia, and England to restore to the Order of Malta that island fortress, which she was on the point of reducing; he manifested a strange passion for that ancient order of chivalry, and had made himself its Grand Master. He blamed the manner in which the overtures of the First Consul had been received in London and Vienna, and, from his communications with Prussia, which had become confidential, it might be perceived that he would have been glad if similar overtures had been addressed to himself. The First Consul, in fact, had not ventured upon this step, for fear of what might happen with a character such as that of the czar. Prussia, apprised of all these particulars, communicated them to the French cabinet, which turned them to its advantage.

Before opening the campaign, for the season for military operations was approaching, the First Consul desired the attendance of M. Sandoz, the Prussian minister, and on the 5th of March (14th Ventôse) had a distinct and complete explanation with him. After recapitulating at length all that he had done for restoring peace, and all the invincible obstacles and want of courtesy which he had met with, he made known the extent of his military preparations, and, without unveiling his profound combinations, gave the Prussian minister a glimpse of the magnitude of the resources which France still possessed. He then declared that, full of confidence in Prussia, he expected her to make fresh efforts to reconcile the belligerent powers, while he should be engaged in fighting; that, in default of a

general peace, of which there was little probability before a new campaign, he looked for two services from King Frederick William—the reconciliation of the Republic with Paul I., and a direct interposition with the Elector of Bavaria to withdraw that prince from the coalition. "Make up matters for us with Paul," said General Bonaparte; "decide, at the same time, the Elector of Bavaria to refuse his troops and his territory to the coalition, and you will have rendered us two services which shall not be forgotten. If the Elector accedes to our requisitions, you may promise him all the consideration he can desire during the war, and the best treatment at the peace."

The First Consul explained his ulterior views to the Prussian envoy. He declared to him that, the treaty of Campo-Formio being the basis offered for the future negotiation, our frontier on the side of the Rhine would be a question to be discussed afterwards with the Empire; that the independence of Holland, Switzerland, and the Italian States should be formally guaranteed. Without explaining himself upon the point where the Rhine should cease to bound the French frontier, he merely said that nobody could suppose that France would relinquish the left bank at all events above Mayence, but that, below that place, the Moselle or the Meuse might serve for boundary. There could be no question as to France retaining Belgium and Luxemburg. He added, in conclusion, that, if Prussia rendered France the services which she was in a position to render her, he would engage to leave to the cabinet of Berlin a considerable influence in the negotiations for peace. This was, in fact, the point of which Prussia was most tenacious, for she wished to take part in these negotiations for the purpose of settling the German frontiers in the manner best suited to her views.

This communication, so seasonably and frankly made, produced the best effect in Berlin. The king replied that, with respect to the Emperor Paul, he had already employed his good offices, and would further employ them, to reconcile him with France; that, as for Bavaria, encompassed on all sides by Austria, he could do nothing; but that, if the Emperor Paul could be brought round, it might, perhaps, be possible, through the combined efforts of Prussia and Russia, to withdraw the Elector from the coalition.

After all these judiciously concerted proceedings, nothing remained but to open hostilities as speedily as possible. The season for them, however, had not yet quite arrived, and it was likely to arrive later than usual this year, because France had to reorganise her armies, in part disbanded, and Austria had to fill the chasm left by Russia in the ranks of the coalition. The First Consul thought that the moment was come for settling matters in La Vendée; in the first place, for putting an end to the odious spectacle of civil war; and, in the second, for ren-

dering disposable, and transferring to the Rhine and the Alps, the excellent troops which La Vendée detained in the interior of the Republic.

The intimations addressed to the insurgent provinces, concurrently with the offers of peace made to the foreign powers, had produced the greatest effect there. These intimations had been supported by an imposing force of about 60,000 men, drawn from Holland, from the interior, and even from Paris. The First Consul had had the boldness to stay in Paris, then full of the scum of every party, with a garrison of 2300 men; and this boldness he had carried to such a length as to publish the fact. In reply to the English ministers, who alleged that the consular government was not more solid than the preceding governments, he had printed a comparative statement of the troops in London and in Paris. The result showed, that London was guarded by 14,600 men, Paris by 2300. This number was scarcely sufficient to supply the ordinary police guards, which are stationed at the great public establishments, and at the residences of the high functionaries. Evidently the name of General Bonaparte guarded Paris.

Be this as it may, the insurgent provinces found themselves enveloped, before they were aware, by a formidable army, and thus placed between an immediate and generous peace and the certainty of a war of extermination. Messrs. d'Andigné and Hyde de Neuville, after their interviews with the First Consul, had dismissed all their illusions, and ceased to believe that he would some day re-establish the Bourbons. No more did they believe that there would be any chance of conquering such a man. M. Hyde de Neuville, who had been sent by the Count d'Artois to ascertain the state of things, determined to return to London, unwilling, for his own part, to forsake the cause of the Bourbons, but convinced of the impossibility of continuing the war, and leaving to all the leaders the advice to do what the necessity of times and places should command each of them, M. d'Andigné returned to Vendée, to report what he had seen.

The term of the suspension of arms was about to expire. It was requisite that the leaders of the royalist party should either sign a definitive peace, or decide to engage immediately in a mortal struggle with a formidable army. In 1793, in the first enthusiasm of the insurrection, they had not been able to conquer the 16,000 men of the garrison of Mayence, and had fought heroic and sanguinary battles, with no other result than to succumb at last. What could they now do against 60,000 men, the first troops in Europe, half of whom only had just been sufficient to drive the Russians and the English into the sea? Evidently nothing: and this opinion was universal in the insurgent provinces; at any rate, it was entertained, more or less, in each of them. On the left bank of the Loire, between Saumur, Nantes, and Les Sables, in short in old Vendée, drained of men and of

every thing, people were wearied out: there they estimated this last assumption of arms, occasioned by the weakness and the severities of the Directory, at its real value, that is to say, as a piece of folly. On the right bank, about Mans, a country which had also been the theatre of a desperate struggle, these sentiments predominated. In Lower Normandy, where the insurrection was of more recent date, where M. de Frotté, a young, active, crafty, and ambitious chief, was the leader of the royalists, a greater disposition was shown to continue the war. This was also the case in the Morbihan, where the distance from Paris, the vicinity of the sea, and the nature of the ground, offered more resources, and where Georges Cadoudal, a chief of ferocious and indomitable energy, upheld the courage of his partisans. In these two latter provinces, the more frequent communications with the English contributed to produce a more obstinate resistance.

From one end of La Vendée and Bretagne to the other, consultations were held respecting the course to be pursued. The emigrants paid by England, whose attachment to the cause was expressed in going incessantly to and fro, and who had not to endure all the consequences of the insurrection, were in fierce quarrel with the country people, on whom the burden of the civil war pressed without intermission. The former insisted that the struggle should be kept up; the latter, on the contrary, that it should be relinquished. These representatives of an interest more English than royalist, said that the government of the Consuls must perish, like all the other revolutionary governments, after a few days of deceitful appearance; that it must perish from the disorder of the finances and of the administration; that the Russian and English armies were to send a detachment to Vendée, to lend a hand to the French royalists; that the latter, if they would but have patience for a few days, would be enabled to reap the fruit of ten years' efforts and combats; and that, by persisting, they would probably have the honour of conducting the victorious Bourbons to Paris. Those insurgents, who were not in the habit of running off to London, and living there upon English money, who staid in the country with their peasants, who saw their estates laid waste, their houses burned, their wives and children exposed to hunger and to death—these said that General Bonaparte had never failed in what he had undertaken; that in Paris, instead of believing that all was falling into dissolution, people believed, on the contrary, that all would be retrieved by the lucky hand of the new chief of the Republic; that this Republic, which was said to be exhausted, had just shown them an army of 60,000 men; that those Russians and those English who were so extolled had recently laid down their arms before one half of this very army; that it was easy enough in London to form fine plans, to talk of attachment and fortitude, when people were at a distance from the

spot, from events, and from their consequences; that they ought to be guarded in what they said on this subject, in the presence of men who, for eight years, had borne alone the brunt of a most calamitous civil war. Some of these exhausted royalists even went so far as to insinuate that general Bonaparte, in his impulsion towards what was right, after restoring peace, putting an end to persecution, and raising the altars again, would, perhaps, re-establish the throne also; and they repeated the idle stories which had ceased to be current among the leading royalists, since the interviews between Messrs. d'Andigné and Hyde de Neuville with the First Consul, but which still found some credence among the lowest classes of the insurgent population, and contributed to reconcile their minds to the new government.

In the heart of old Vendée, there was an humble priest, the Abbé Bernier, *curé* of St. Laud, destined soon to take part in the affairs of the Republic and of the Empire, who, by superior intelligence and natural talents, had acquired a powerful ascendency over the royalist chiefs. He had closely observed that long insurrection, which had led to nothing but calamities; he judged that the cause of the Bourbons was lost, at least for the moment; and he believed that it was not possible to save any thing from the general wreck produced by the French Revolution, but the ancient altar of Christianity. Enlightened on this point by the acts of the First Consul, and by frequent communications with general Hédouville, he felt no further doubt; and he reckoned upon it that, in submitting, the royalists might ensure peace, the end of their persecutions, and toleration, at least, if not protection, for their religious worship. He, therefore, recommended submission to all the old chiefs of the left bank, and, by his influence, silenced the braggarts going and returning between La Vendée and London. A meeting took place at Montfaucon, and there, in a council of the royalist officers, the Abbé Bernier decided M. d'Autichamp, a young nobleman of distinguished bravery, but docile towards superior intelligence, to lay down arms on behalf of the province. The capitulation was signed on the 18th of January (28th Nivôse). The Republic promised an entire amnesty, respect for public worship, remission of the taxes for some time in the ravaged provinces, and erasure of all the chiefs from the list of emigrants. The royalists promised, in return, complete submission, and the immediate surrender of their arms.

On the same day, January the 18th, the Abbé Bernier wrote to general Hédouville, "Your wishes and mine are accomplished. This day, at two o'clock, peace was thankfully accepted by all the chiefs and officers of the left bank of the Loire. The right bank will undoubtedly follow this example, and the olive of peace will replace, on both banks of the Loire, the gloomy cypresses which war has planted there. I charge Messrs. de

Baurollier, Duboucher, and Renou to carry you the happy tidings. I recommend them to the kindness of the government and to yours. Unjustly inscribed in the fatal list of 1793, they have been stripped of all their property. This sacrifice they have made to the necessity of circumstances, and have been on that account not the less desirous of peace. This peace is your work; maintain it, general, by justice and beneficence. Your glory and your happiness are linked to it. I will do all that lies in my power in fulfilment of your salutary intentions; wisdom commands, humanity wills it. My heart belongs entirely to the country wherein I dwell, and its happiness is the most ardent of my wishes. "BERNIER."

This example produced its effect. Two days afterwards, the insurgents of the right bank, commanded by an old and brave nobleman, M. de Châtillon, and disgusted, like him, of serving the views of England rather than the cause of royalism, submitted: all old Vendée was thus pacified. Extrême was the joy, both in the country, where royalism prevailed, and in the towns where reigned, on the contrary, the spirit of the Revolution. In several towns, such as Nantes and Angers, the royalist chiefs, wearing the tri-coloured cockade, were received in triumph, and entertained like brothers. In all quarters, people began to surrender their arms, and to submit in good earnest, under the influence of an opinion, which gradually became general, that war, without restoring the Bourbons, would lead to nothing but bloodshed and the devastation of the country; that submission, on the contrary, would ensure quiet, safety, and the re-establishment of religion, which, of all things, was most fervently desired.

In Bretagne and Normandy, however, the pacification met with greater obstacles. The war in these parts was more recent, as we have just observed, and had not so completely exhausted the courage of those engaged in it; besides, it produced there disgraceful emolument, while in La Vendée nothing accrued from it but sufferings. It was in the centre of Bretagne and towards Normandy, that all the Chouans, that is, men whom insurrection had habituated to plunder, and who could not now do without it, had taken refuge. They made war more fiercely upon the chests of the tax collectors, upon the diligences, and upon the proprietors of national domains, than upon the Republic. They were in connexion with a troop of persons of infamous character resident in Paris, and from these received the information which guided them in their expeditions. Lastly, in Le Morbihan, which was the seat of the most obstinate insurrection, Georges, the only implacable one of all the Vendean chiefs, received from the English, money and supplies of different kinds, to enable him to prolong his resistance; hence he was not at all disposed to submit.

But preparations had been made for crushing such of the

royalist chiefs as would not submit. On the 21st of January (1st of Pluviôse), general Chabot, breaking the suspension of arms, marched against the bands in the centre of Bretagne, commanded by Messrs. de Bourmont and de la Prévalaye. Near the commune of Mélay, he overtook M. de Bourmont, who, at the head of 4000 Chouans, defended himself vigorously; but was, nevertheless, obliged to give way to the republicans, accustomed to put to rout other soldiers than peasants. It was not without great difficulty that he himself, after incurring the greatest danger, found means to escape. Being soon convinced that he could not do more for his own cause, he surrendered his arms on the 24th of January (4th Pluviôse).

General Chabot then marched upon Rennes, intending to proceed thence towards the extremity of Bretagne, where general Brune was concentrating a large force. On the 25th of January (5th Pluviôse), several columns, setting out from Vannes, Auray, and Elven, under generals Harty and Gency, fell in at Grandchamp with the bands of Georges. The two republican generals were escorting towards Vannes a convoy of corn and cattle, which they had seized in the insurgent district. The Chouans, having attempted to retake this convoy, the escorting columns enveloped them, and, in spite of the most vigorous resistance, killed 400 men, and several chiefs, and completely routed them. Two days thereafter, on the 27th, 300 more Chouans perished in a very smart action at Hennebon, which utterly destroyed all the hopes of the insurrection. Very near the coast were lying an English 80-gun ship, and some frigates, which could see how chimerical were the illusions with which the British government had been amused. The truth was, each party had deceived the other, the British government in promising a new expedition like that to Holland, the Bretons in announcing a general rising. Royalists, recently landed, had great difficulty to get off in boats to the English squadron, and were received like emigrants who had promised much, but performed little. Georges was reduced to the necessity of laying down his arms, and gave up 20,000 muskets and twenty pieces of cannon, which he had just received from the English.

In Lower Normandy, generals Gardanne and Chambarlhac, detached from the garrison of Paris, were in pursuit of M. de Frotté, a young chief full of devotion to the Royalist cause, and who, like Georges, was bent on continuing the struggle. Some severe fighting took place at different points. At length, on the 25th January (5th Pluviôse), M. de Frotté was overtaken by general Gardanne, at the iron works of Cossé, near la Motte-Fouquet, and lost many men. On the 26th (6th Pluviôse), Du-boisgny, one of the chiefs, was attacked in his *château* of the same name, near Fougères, and, like M. de Frotté, sustained considerable loss. Lastly, on the 27th (7th Pluviôse), general Chambarlhac surrounded some companies of Chouans in the

environs of St. Christophe, not far from Alençon, and put them to the sword.

M. de Frotté, perceiving, like the others, but unfortunately too late, that all resistance was useless against the numerous columns which had assailed the country, M. de Frotté thought it high time to submit. He wrote, demanding peace, to general Hédouville, who, at that moment, was at Angers, and, while awaiting an answer, proposed a suspension of arms to general Chambarlhac. The latter replied that he had no powers to treat, that he would write to the government to obtain them, but that, in the mean time, he could not take it upon him to suspend hostilities, unless M. de Frotté consented to deliver up the arms of his soldiers immediately. This was precisely what M. de Frotté had the greatest objection to do. He consented, indeed, to submit, and to sign a momentary pacification, but on condition of remaining armed, so that he might afterwards seize the first favourable occasion for recommencing the war. He even wrote letters to his lieutenants, in which, while enjoining them to surrender, he recommended to them to retain their arms. During this interval, the First Consul, irritated at the obstinacy of M. de Frotté, gave orders that no quarter should be given to him, and that an example should be made on his person. M. de Frotté, uneasy at receiving no answer to his propositions, wished to place himself in communication with general Guidal, commanding the department of the Orne, and was apprehended with six of his men while inquiring for him. The letters found upon him, which contained orders to his followers to surrender, but to keep their arms, were regarded as treachery. He was conducted to Verneuil, and given up to a military commission.

The news of his apprehension having reached Paris, a great number of intercessors beset the First Consul, and obtained an order for suspending the proceedings; this was equivalent to a pardon. But the courier bearing the order of the government arrived too late. The Constitution being suspended in the insurgent departments, M. de Frotté had been tried summarily, and, when the reprieve arrived, that young and valiant chief had already suffered the penalty of his obstinacy. The duplicity of his conduct, though clearly proved, was not so culpable but that we must deeply regret such an execution, the only one, by the by, which stained this happy conclusion of the civil war with blood.

From that day, the departments of the West were entirely pacified. The discretion of general Hédouville, the vigour and promptness of the means employed, the weariness of the insurgents, the mixture of confidence and fear infused into them by the First Consul, brought about this rapid pacification. It was completely finished by the end of February, 1800 (the first days of Ventôse). The disarming was carried into effect everywhere.

There were left only highway robbers, whom active and relentless justice was soon to overtake. The troops on duty in the West were put in march for Paris; they were required to carry out the vast designs of the First Consul.

The Constitution, suspended in the four departments of the Loire-Inférieure, Ille et Vilaine, Morbihan, and Côtes-du-Nord, was again put in force, and most of the chiefs who came to lay down their arms, were successively drawn to Paris, with the intention of placing them in communication with the First Consul. The latter was well aware that it was not sufficient to wrest the arms from their hands, but that it was necessary to master their spirits, susceptible of enthusiasm, and to direct them toward some noble object. He wished to draw the royalist chiefs along with him in the immense career opened at that moment to all the French, to lead them to fortune, to glory, by the path of danger, which they were accustomed to travel. He sent them invitations to come to see him. His renown, which awakened a strong desire to approach him in all those who had opportunity for doing so; his beneficence, already much extolled in La Vendée, and to which there had been occasion to appeal in behalf of the numerous victims of the civil war, were, with the royalist chiefs, so many honourable motives for visiting him. The First Consul admitted, and favourably received, in the first place, the Abbé Bernier, then Messrs. de Bourmont, d'Autichamp, de Châtillon, and, lastly, Georges Cadoudal himself. He took particular notice of the Abbé Bernier, and resolved to attach him to himself, by employing him in difficult affairs of the Church. He conversed frequently with the military chiefs, touched them by his noble language, and induced some of them to serve in the French armies. He even found means to win the heart of M. de Châtillon, who returned to his retreat, married, and became the usual intercessor, and one always listened to, for his fellow-citizens, when they had any act of justice or humanity to solicit of the First Consul. It is by means of glory, clemency, and beneficence, that an end is put to revolutions.

Georges alone withstood this high influence. When he was conducted to the Tuileries, the aide-de-camp ordered to introduce him conceived such apprehensions from his look, that he deemed it unsafe to shut the door of the First Consul's cabinet, and went every now and then to steal a glance at what was passing. The interview was long. In vain general Bonaparte addressed the words "native country and glory" to the ears of Georges; in vain he held out even the bait of ambition to the heart of that fierce champion of the civil war; he had no success, and he felt convinced himself that he had failed when he looked at the face of his visiter. Georges, on leaving him, set out for England with M. Hyde de Neuville. Several times, when giving his fellow-traveller an account of this interview, he exclaimed,

showing his vigorous arms, "What a blunder I committed in not strangling that fellow!"

This prompt pacification of La Vendée produced a strong effect on the public mind. Some malevolent persons, who would not account for it by its natural causes, that is to say, by the energy of the physical means employed, by the wisdom of the moral means, and by the influence of the great name of the First Consul, asserted that secret conventions had been made with the Vendeans, in which some important satisfaction had been promised them. They did not say plainly, but they insinuated, that this would, perhaps, turn out to be much more than the re-establishment of the principles of the ancient system, that of the Bourbons themselves. It was the newsmongers of the revolutionary party who circulated these ridiculous stories: but sensible people, appreciating better the acts of general Bonaparte, said to themselves that men never did such great things for others, and felt convinced that, if he was not labouring solely for France, it was at least for himself, and not for the Bourbons. On the whole, the pacification of La Vendée was, in the estimation of all, one of the most fortunate events, foreboding a more important and more difficult peace—the peace of Europe.

Before opening the campaign this year, the First Consul hastened to close the session of the Legislative Body, and to press the adoption of the numerous bills (*projets de lois*) which he had presented. Some members of the Tribunate complained of the rapidity with which they were required to discuss and vote. "We are," said Sedillez, an impartial and moderate man, "we are hurried away in a *whirlwind of urgency*, the rapid movement of which is directed towards the object of our wishes. Is it not better to give way to the impetuosity of this movement than to run the risk of impeding its progress? Next year we shall examine, with more deliberation, the bills (*projets*) presented, and we shall rectify what may need rectifying." Every thing, in fact, was advancing hastily towards that goal which the First Consul had proposed to himself. The laws voted were carried into execution; the functionaries appointed were repairing to their posts. The new prefects entered upon office, and the administration resumed, in all its parts, a harmony, an activity, which it had never before had. The arrears of taxes flowed into the coffers of the treasury, since the completion of the assessments enabled the collectors to demand payment from the taxpayers in legal form. Every day, new measures denoted more clearly the political march of the government. A second list of proscripts had just obtained the favour of recall. Among these figured a number of writers. Messrs. de Fontanes, de La Harpe, Suard, Sicard, Michaud, Fiévée, were recalled from exile, or authorised to leave their retreats. The members of the

Constituent Assembly, known for having voted the abolition of the feudal institutions, were exempted from all the severities launched at them under the Convention and the Directory. A famous proscript of the 18th of Fructidor, who negotiated and signed the first treaty of peace concluded by the Republic, the ex-director, Barthélemy, was, on the proposition of the Consuls, nominated Senator. Lastly, another proscript of the same date, Carnot, recently returned from exile, and since then appointed inspector of reviews, was now appointed minister of war, in lieu of general Berthier, who was setting out to take the command of one of the armies of the Republic. The name of Carnot was then a great military name, with which was associated the recollection of the victories of the Convention in '93; and, though the name of general Bonaparte was sufficient to make the coalition tremble, still that of Carnot, added to his, produced an additional sensation among the foreign staffs.

The session drawing towards a close, the opposition in the Tribunate made a last effort, which caused some agitation, though it was repulsed by a great majority. The Legislative Body was to sit but four months. No term had been fixed for the sessions of the Tribunate. That body, therefore, was at liberty to meet, though the absence of the Legislative Body left it without occupation. A motion was made that it should create an employment for its time by means of the petitions which it alone was charged to receive, and the wishes which it was authorised to express concerning matters of general interest. M. Benjamin Constant proposed to refer these petitions to distinct commissions, to keep them continually at work, and to reserve for themselves, by this method, not only the discussion of all the acts of the government, a thing perfectly legitimate in itself, but their permanent discussion during the twelve months of the year. This proposition was negatived, in so far as it was objectionable. It was decided that the Tribunate should meet once a fortnight, to hear a report on petitions, and that this report should be drawn up by the bureau of the assembly, composed of the president and the secretaries. Confined within these limits, the proposition gave no cause for uneasiness.

With the exception of this last effort, the close of the session was perfectly peaceable, even in the Tribunate. The plans of the government had there obtained such a majority, that it required very great susceptibility to be angry with that body for the opposition of a score of its members. The First Consul, disposed as he was not to put up with any thing unpleasant, resolved to let that pass. Thus this first session, termed that of the year VIII., realised, in no respect, the fears which certain propagators of bad news affected to entertain. If, at a later period, things had continued at this point, people would have made shift with this last semblance of deliberative assemblies.

That alarmed generation and the chief whom it had adopted would alike have supported them.

Shortly before the close of the session, the First Consul took a measure relative to the periodical press, which would now-a-days be nothing less than utterly impracticable, but which, at that time, owing to the silence of the Constitution, was a measure perfectly legal, and, owing to the spirit of the time, nearly insignificant. The Constitution, in fact, took no notice of the periodical press, and it will appear astonishing that so important a liberty as that of writing had not even obtained special mention in the fundamental law of the State. But, in those days, the tribune, as well that of the assemblies as that of the clubs, had been, with the revolutionary passions, the favourite channel for displaying themselves; and the liberty of speech had been so much used, that the liberty of writing was thought little of. At the epoch of the 18th of Fructidor, the press was rather more employed, but chiefly by the royalists, and it excited such irritation against itself among the revolutionists, that they afterwards felt very little interest for it. It was, therefore, suffered to be proscribed on the 18th of Fructidor, and to be omitted in framing the Constitution of the year VIII., and thenceforth abandoned to the good pleasure of the government.

The First Consul, who had endured with little patience the attacks of the royalist journals, when he was merely general of the army of Italy, began now to be uneasy about the indiscretions committed by the press in regard to his military operations, and the virulent attacks against foreign governments in which it indulged. Applying himself in a most particular manner to reconcile the Republic with Europe, he was apprehensive lest the republican papers, launching out against foreign cabinets, especially since the refusal of the offers of France, should frustrate all his efforts at reconciliation. The King of Prussia, in particular, had found reason to complain of some French journals, and had expressed his displeasure. The First Consul, who was desirous to efface everywhere the traces of violence, and who, moreover, was not restrained, in regard to the liberty of the press, by any firm and established public opinion, such as exists in our days, took a decision by which he suppressed a great number of journals, and specified those which should have the privilege of continuing to appear. This arrangement was to remain in force till the general peace. The journals retained were thirteen in number. These were, the *Moniteur Universel*, the *Journal des Débats*, the *Journal de Paris*, the *Bien-Informé*, the *Publiciste*, the *Ami des Lois*, the *Clef du Cabinet*, the *Citoyen Français*, the *Gazette de France*, the *Journal des Hommes Libres*, the *Journal du Soir*, the *Journal des Défenseurs de la Patrie*, and the *Décade Philosophique*.

These favoured journals were, moreover, apprised that such of them as should publish articles against the Constitution, against the armies, their glory, or their interest, or should publish invectives against any foreign government, friends or allies of France, should be immediately suppressed.

This measure, which would appear so extraordinary at the present day, was received without murmur and without astonishment, for the value of things is dependent on the spirit that prevails.

The votes required of the citizens on the subject of the new Constitution had been collected and counted. The result of this operation was communicated to the Senate, to the Legislative Body, and to the Tribunate, by a message from the Consuls. None of the anterior Constitutions had been accepted by so large a number of votes.

In 1793, 1,800,000 votes had been recorded in favour of the Constitution of that epoch, and 11,000 against it; for the Directorial Constitution of 1795, the numbers were 1,057,000 favourable votes, and 49,000 negative votes. This time, more than 3,000,000 voters had come forward; of these 3,000,000 adopted the Constitution, and 1500 only rejected it.* Most assuredly these vain formalities have no weight with serious minds. It is not from these vulgar and frequently lying signs, but from the moral aspect of a society, that its will is to be inferred. But the difference in the number of voters had, in this case, an incontestable signification. It proved, at least, how general was the sentiment that called for a strong and reparative government, capable of ensuring order, victory, and peace.

The First Consul, before his departure for the army, at length decided on an important step: he took up his abode in the Tuileries. Considering the disposition of many to find in him a Cæsar, a Cromwell, destined to put an end to the reign of anarchy by the reign of power, this removal to the palace of kings was a bold and delicate step, not on account of any resistance that it could provoke, but of the moral effect which it might possibly produce.

The First Consul caused it to be preceded by an imposing and skilfully contrived ceremony. Washington was just dead. The decease of this illustrious personage, who had filled the conclusion of the last century with his name, was a subject of regret for all the friends of freedom in Europe. The First Consul, judging that a manifestation on this subject would be opportune, addressed the following order of the day to the armies:—

"Washington is dead! That great man fought against

* The exact numbers were as follow: in 1793, 1,801,918 favourable votes, and 11,610 dissentient; in 1795, 1,057,390 favourable votes, and 49,955 dissentient; in 1800, out of 3,012,569 voters, 3,011,007 were favourable, and 1562 dissentient

tyranny; he consolidated the independence of his country. His name will ever be dear to the French nation, as to all the free men of both worlds, and especially to French soldiers, who, like him and his American soldiers, are fighting for equality and liberty." In consequence, a ten days' mourning was ordered. This mourning was to consist in a piece of black crape suspended from all the colours of the Republic. The First Consul did not stop there: he gave directions for a noble and simple ceremony to take place in the church of the Invalides, called in the ephemeral language of the time, "the Temple of Mars." The colours taken in Egypt had not yet been presented to the government. General Lannes was charged to deliver them, on this occasion, to the minister of war, beneath the magnificent dome erected by the great king for our country's veterans.

On the 9th of February (20th Pluviôse), all the authorities having assembled at the Invalides, General Lannes presented to Berthier, minister of war, ninety-six pair of colours, taken at the Pyramids, at Mount Tabor, and at Aboukir. He made a short martial speech, to which Berthier gave a similar reply. The latter was seated between two invalids a hundred years old, facing the bust of Washington, overhung by a thousand flags, trophies won from Europe by the armies of republican France.

Not far from this spot a tribune was prepared. A proscript, who owed his liberty to the policy of the First Consul ascended to it: this was M. de Fontanes; a pure and brilliant writer, the last who employed that French language, formerly so perfect, but now swept with the eighteenth century into the abyss of the past. In studied but splendid language, M. de Fontanes delivered a funeral oration on the hero of America. He celebrated the military virtues of Washington, his valour, his wisdom, his disinterestedness: he placed far above the military genius, which knows how to gain victories, the reparative genius, which understands how to put an end to civil wars, to close the wounds of the country, and to give peace to the world. Evoking the shade of Washington, he called also to witness the shades of Turenne, of Catinat, of Condé, and speaking, as it were, in the name of these great men, he delivered, in the most delicate and appropriate language, a panegyric, which for once was full of nobleness, because it was full of lessons of wisdom.

"Yes," he exclaimed in conclusion; "yes, thy counsels will be listened to, O Washington! O warrior! O legislator! O citizen without reproach! He who while yet young surpassed thee in battles, shall close, like thee, with his triumphant hands the wounds of his country. Ere long—we have pledges for it in his will, and in his martial genius, if that should unfortunately be necessary—ere long the hymn of peace will resound in this temple of war; then will a universal feeling of joy efface from memory all injustices and all oppressions . . . . . already the oppressed forget their sufferings and put their trust in the

future! ..... The acclamations of all ages will celebrate the hero who shall confer this benefit on France, and on the world which she has too long shaken."

This speech being finished, black crape was fastened to all the colours, and the French Republic was deemed to be in mourning for the founder of the American Republic, like the monarchies which put themselves in mourning for the losses sustained by each other. What did this ceremony still require, before it could equal in grandeur those funeral scenes at which Louis XIV. was wont to be present, and to hear the praise of one of his warriors from the lips of Flechier or of Bossuet? Of a surety it was neither in the greatness of the events or of the men that aught was lacking; for the orator was speaking of Washington before general Bonaparte; he was speaking amidst an audience which had also beheld Charleses ascending the scaffold, and even crowned female heads following them to it. He might introduce at choice the names of Fleurus, Arcole, Rivoli, Zurich, the Pyramids, and these magnificent victories would assuredly serve to impart not less grandeur to an harangue, than those of the Dunes and Rocroy! What, then, was wanting to render this solemnity truly grand? There was wanting what the greatest of men himself could not infuse into it; there was wanting, in the first place, religion; not that which men affect and strain to possess, but that which is sincere and spontaneous, and without which the dead are always but coldly celebrated; there was wanting the genius of Bossuet, for there are species of greatness which never reappear in nations, and if the Turennes and the Condés have successors, the Bossuets have none; lastly, there was wanting a certain sincerity, for this homage so a hero renowned above all for his disinterestedness was too visibly affected. Still, let us not believe, with the herd of vulgar interpreters, that on this occasion all was pure hypocrisy: no doubt there was some, but there were also the ordinary illusions of the time and of all times. Men, in fact, deceive themselves more frequently than they deceive others. Many Frenchmen, like the Romans under Augustus, still believed in the Republic, because its name was assiduously pronounced; and it is not very certain that the institutor of this funeral ceremony, that general Bonaparte himself, did not deceive himself while celebrating Washington, and fancy, in fact, that in France as in America, a man might be the first citizen, without being king or emperor.

This ceremony was the prelude to the installation of the three Consuls in the Tuileries. The repairs required by that palace had been for a considerable time in progress; the traces left by the Convention were effaced: the red caps, which it had ordered to be placed amidst the gilded ceilings, were removed. The First Consul was to occupy the apartments on the first floor, the same appropriated by the present reigning family for evening receptions. His wife and her children were to occupy

apartments on the entresol. The gallery of Diana was, as at present, the vestibule, through which one was obliged to pass, in order to reach the abode of the head of the State. The First Consul caused it to be adorned with busts representing a series of great men, and took pains to mark, by the choice of these busts, the predilections of his mind; there were Demosthenes, Alexander, Hannibal, Scipio, Brutus, Cicero, Cato, Cæsar, Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, Condé, Duguai-Trouin, Marlborough, Eugene, Marshal Saxe, Washington, Frederick the Great, Mirabeau, Dugommier, Dampierre, Marceau, Joubert, that is to say, warriors and orators, champions of liberty and conquerors, heroes of the ancient monarchy and of the Republic; lastly, four generals of the Revolution, who had fallen in battle. To assemble around him the glories of all ages and of all countries, as he was desirous of assembling all the parties around his government—such was on all occasions the disposition which he was fond of manifesting.

But he was not to occupy the Tuileries exclusively. His two colleagues were to reside there too. Lebrun was lodged in the pavilion of Flora. As for Cambacérès, who ranked before Lebrun, he refused to take up his abode in this palace of kings. This personage, possessing consummate prudence, perhaps the only man of his time who had not given way to any illusion, this personage said to his colleague, Lebrun, "It would be wrong for us to go and live in the Tuileries; it is not a fitting place for us, and, for my part, I shall not go. General Bonaparte will soon want to live there alone, and then we should have to move out. 'Tis better not to go there at all." Neither did he go, but he contrived to get a handsome house in the Place du Carrousel assigned to him, and this he retained as long as Napoleon retained the Empire.

When all was arranged, a few days after the funeral ceremony at the Invalides, the First Consul resolved to take possession of the Tuileries publicly. He did so, in great state.

On the 19th of February (the 30th Pluviôse), he quitted the Luxembourg to repair to his new palace, preceded and followed by an imposing escort. The fine regiments which had recently marched from Holland into La Vendée, from La Vendée to Paris, and which were soon to signalise themselves for the hundredth time on the plains of Germany and Italy, those regiments, commanded by Lannes, Murat, Bessières, opened the procession. Then came, in carriages almost all hired, the ministers, the Council of State, the public authorities; then in a handsome coach, drawn by six white horses, the three Consuls themselves. These horses were particularly suited to the occasion; they were the same that the emperor of Germany had given to general Bonaparte on concluding the peace of Campo-Formio. The general had also been presented by that sovereign with a magnificent sword, which he took care to wear on that day.

Thus he exhibited about him all that served to remind the public of the warrior-peacemaker. The concourse of people collected in the streets and on the quays leading to the Tuileries, hailed his presence with loud acclamations. These acclamations were sincere, for they greeted in him the glory of France and the commencement of her prosperity. On reaching the Carrousel, the coach of the Consuls was received by the consular guard, and passed between two guard-houses, erected, one on the right, the other on the left of the palace-yard. On one of these was still seen this inscription: "Royalty in France is abolished, and shall never be re-established."

No sooner had he entered the court than the First Consul mounted a horse and reviewed the troops drawn up before the palace. When opposite to the colours of the 96th, the 43rd, and the 30th demi-brigades, colours blackened, torn by balls, he saluted them, and was saluted in his turn by the shouts of the soldiers. After passing along their ranks, he stationed himself before the pavilion of Flora, and saw them defile before him. Over his head, on the balcony of the palace, were the other two Consuls, the principal authorities, lastly, his family, who began to have rank in the State. When the review was over, he went up to the apartments; the minister of the interior presented to him the civil authorities; the minister of war presented the military authorities; the minister of the marine all the naval officers who chanced to be in Paris. In the course of the day, entertainments were given in the Tuileries and in the houses of the ministers.

The service of the consular palace was regulated as follows: M. Bénezech, councillor of state, formerly minister of the interior, was charged with the general administration of this palace. The aides-de-camp, and Duroc in particular, were to do the honours, and to supply the place of that multitude of officers of all kinds, that usually fill the spacious apartments of European sovereigns. Every fortnight, on the 2nd and 17th of each month, the First Consul received the diplomatic body. Once in the decade, on different days, but at fixed hours, he received the Senators, the members of the Legislative Body, of the Tribunate, and of the Tribunal of Cassation. The functionaries who wished to have audience with him had to address themselves to the ministers, to whose department they belonged, in order to be presented to him. On the 2nd Ventôse (the 21st of February), two days after his installation at the Tuileries, he gave audience to the diplomatic body. Surrounded by a numerous staff, he received the envoys of the States who were not at war with the Republic. Introduced by M. Benezech, presented by the minister for foreign affairs, they delivered their credentials to the First Consul, who handed them to the minister, nearly in the same manner as sovereigns do in monarchical governments. The foreign ministers who figured at this audience

were M. de Musquiz, ambassador of Spain; M. de Sandoz Rollin, minister of Prussia; M. de Schimmelpenninck, ambassador of Holland; M. de Serbelloni, envoy of the Cisalpine Republic; lastly, the chargés d'affaires of Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Baden, Hesse-Cassel, Rome, Genoa, &c.—(*Moniteur*, 4th Ventôse, year VIII.)

The presentation over, these different ministers were introduced to Madame Bonaparte.

Every five days, the First Consul reviewed the regiments passing through Paris on their way to the frontiers. It was then that he showed himself to the troops and to the multitude, always eager to see him. Thin, pale, stooping upon his horse, he inspired not less interest than admiration by a severe and melancholy beauty, by an appearance of ill health, which began to excite great uneasiness, for never was the preservation of any man so ardently wished for as his.

After these reviews, the officers of the troops were admitted to his table. The foreign ministers, the members of the assemblies, the magistrates and functionaries, were invited to entertainments, at which a moderate luxury prevailed. At this nascent court, there were not yet either ladies of honour or chamberlains: its tone was certainly austere, but already rather elegant. Care was taken to avoid the habits of the Directory, under which a ridiculous imitation of ancient costume, joined to licentiousness of manners, had taken away all dignity from the external representation of the government. There was little conversation; people observed one another; their eyes were fixed upon the extraordinary personage who had already achieved such great things, and who gave reason to hope for still greater. They waited for his questions; they answered with deference.

The day after he had taken up his abode at the Tuileries, General Bonaparte, going over the palace with M. de Bourrienne, his secretary, said to him, "Well, Bourrienne, here we are, then, in the Tuileries!.... And here we must stay now."

BOOK III.

ULM AND GENOA.

Preparations for War—Forces of the Coalition in 1800—Army of Baron Melas in Liguria; of Marshal Kray in Swabia—Plan of Campaign of the Austrians—Importance of Switzerland in this War—Plan of General Bonaparte—He forms the Resolution to make use of Switzerland, in order to debouch on the Flank of Kray, and in the Rear of Melas—The Part which he destines for Moreau, and that which he destines for Himself—Creation of the Army of Reserve—Instructions to Masséna—Commencement of Hostilities—Melas attacks the Army of Liguria on the Apennines, and divides it into two halves, one of which is driven back towards the Var, the other upon Genoa—Description of Genoa—Masséna, blocked up in Genoa, prepares for an obstinate Resistance—Heroic Combats of Masséna—The First Consul urges Moreau to commence Operations in Germany, that he may be able to succour Masséna the sooner—Passage of the Rhine at four Points—Moreau succeeds in concentrating three out of four Corps, and falls upon the Austrians at Engen and Stockach—Battles of Engen and Mösskirch—Retreat of the Austrians upon the Danube—St. Cyr's engagement at Biberach—Kray posts himself in the entrenched Camp of Ulm—Moreau manœuvres to dislodge him—False Movements of Moreau; but not productive of any disastrous Result—Moreau definitively shuts up Kray in Ulm, and takes a strong Position in advance of Augsburg, to await the Result of Events in Italy—Summary of Moreau's Operations—Character of that General.

BOOK III.

ULM AND GENOA.

After addressing urgent overtures to Europe to obtain peace, overtures which would not have been befitting from any one but a general covered with glory; the First Consul had no course left but war, preparations for which had, indeed, been making with great activity during the whole winter of 1799-1800 (year VIII). This war was at once the most legitimate, and one of the most glorious, of those heroic times.

Austria, though observing greater moderation in forms than England, had nevertheless come to the same conclusions, and refused peace. The vain hope of keeping in Italy the advantageous situation which she owed to the victories of Suwarow, the English subsidies, the erroneous opinion that France, drained of men and money, could not undertake another campaign, but above all, the fatal obstinacy of M. de Thugut, who represented the war party at Vienna, with as much infatuation as Mr. Pitt in London, and who, in regard to this question, was instigated much more by personal passion than by genuine patriotism—all these causes conjoined had induced the Austrian cabinet to commit one of the greatest political faults, that of not profiting by a favourable situation for negotiating. It required a most extraordinary blindness, to believe that such successes as had been owing to the incapacity of the Directory would continue to be obtained in the face of a new government, already completely organised, active even to prodigy, and directed by the first captain of the age.

The archduke Charles, who united to real military talents great moderation and modesty, had pointed out all the dangers incident to the continuance of the war, and the difficulty of making head against the celebrated adversary, who was about to enter the lists. By way of answer, the command of the Austrian forces was taken from him; and the government had thus deprived itself of the only general who could command them with any chance of success. His disgrace had been disguised under the title of governor of Bohemia. The imperial army bitterly regretted that prince, though the baron de Kray, who was appointed his successor, had highly distinguished himself during

the last campaign in Italy. Kray was a brave, able, and experienced officer, and proved himself not unworthy of the command that had been conferred upon him.

To fill the chasm left by the Russians in the ranks of the coalition, Austria, seconded by the subsidies of England, obtained from the States of the Empire a considerable addition to their contingents. A special treaty, signed on the 16th of March, by Mr. Wickham, British minister to the elector of Bavaria, bound that prince to furnish, besides his legal contingent as a member of the Empire, a supplementary corps of 12,000 Bavarians. A treaty of the same kind, signed on the 12th of April, with the duke of Würtemberg, procured another corps of 6000 Würtembergers for the army of the coalition. Lastly, on the 30th of April, the same negotiator obtained from the elector of Mayence, a corps of from 4000 to 6000 of his subjects, on the same financial conditions. Besides the expenses of recruiting, equipment, and maintenance of their troops, England guaranteed to the coalesced German princes, that no treaty should be made with France without them, and engaged to obtain restitution of their dominions, be the issue of the war what it might; and she made them promise in return not to listen to any proposition for a separate peace.

Of these German troops, the Bavarians were the best; next came those of Würtemberg; but the Mayence troops were but militia, without discipline and without valour. Independently of these regular contingents, the peasants of the Black Forest had been instigated to arm by frightful accounts of the ravages of the French, who, at this period, committed much less devastation than the Imperialists in the fertile fields of unfortunate Germany.

The imperial army in Swabia, including all these auxiliaries, amounted to nearly 150,000 men, 30,000 of whom were quartered in the fortresses, and 120,000 present with the active army. It was provided with a numerous artillery, good, though inferior to the French artillery, and, above all, with a superb cavalry, such as it is customary to have in the Austrian armies. The emperor had, moreover, 120,000 men in Lombardy, under baron de Melas. An English squadron of considerable force, stationed in the Mediterranean, and cruising incessantly in the gulf of Genoa, supported all the operations of the Austrians in Italy. It was to disembark an auxiliary corps of English and emigrants, then collected at Mahon, and amounting, it was said, to 20,000 men. It was agreed that this corps should be landed at Toulon itself, in case the imperial army, ordered to operate against the Apennines, should be fortunate enough to force the line of the Var.

There had been hopes of uniting some Russian with English troops, and landing them on the coast of France, in order to excite insurrections in Belgium, in Bretagne, and in La Vendée. The

perfectly voluntary inaction of the Russians, and the pacification of La Vendée, had thwarted that operation, from which the allies had expected much.

It was, therefore, a mass of nearly 300,000 men; 150,000 in Swabia, 120,000 in Italy, 20,000 at Mahon, supported by the whole English navy, that was to prosecute the war against France. This force, it must be allowed, would have been very inadequate against France, reorganised and in possession of all her means; but, against France, scarcely emerged from the chaos into which she had been plunged by the weakness of the Directory, it was a considerable force, with which her enemies might have obtained important results, had they known how to employ it. It must be added, that it was a real force, liable to suffer little diminution, because the 300,000 men of which it was composed were seasoned to hardship, and already upon the frontiers which they were to attack—an important circumstance, for every raw army finds it difficult to withstand the first shocks of war, and if it has, moreover, a long march to make before it meets an enemy, it decreases in proportion to the distance which must be traversed.

Let us now see how the allied troops were distributed, and the plan according to which they were to act.

M. de Kray, at the head of the 150,000 men, whom he commanded, occupied Swabia, posted in the middle of the angle formed in that country by the Rhine, when, after running from east to west, from Constance to Basle, it turns abruptly to the north from Basle to Strasburg. In this position, Kray, having Switzerland on his left flank, Alsace on his right, observed all the passages of the Rhine, by which the French might penetrate into Germany. He had not the presumption to cross that river, and to invade the territory of the Republic; his part, at the commencement of the campaign, required him to be less active. The initiative of the operations was reserved for the army of Italy, 120,000 strong, and posted, in consequence of the advantages which it had obtained in 1799, at the very foot of the Apennines. It was to blockade Genoa, to reduce it, if possible, then to cross the Apennines and the Var, and to march upon Toulon,—where the English, and the emigrants of the South, commanded by general Willot, one of the proscripts of Fructidor, were to join the Austrians. This new invasion of a province, containing our principal naval establishment, was particularly agreeable to the English; and to them must be, in a great measure, attributed this plan, afterwards so severely criticised. When the Austrian army in Italy, which, owing to the climate of Liguria, could commence the campaign before that in Swabia, should have penetrated into Provence, it was supposed that the First Consul would withdraw his troops from the Rhine to cover the Var, and that marshal Kray would then have the means of entering into action. Switzerland, being thus

hemmed in, and, as it were, strangled between two victorious armies, must naturally fall, so that it would be unnecessary to renew against it the impotent efforts of the preceding campaign. The exploits of Lecourbe and Masséna in the Alps, had given the Austrians a great distaste for any great operation, specially directed against Switzerland. In regard to that country, the intention was to confine themselves to mere observation. The extreme left of marshal Kray was to take upon itself this duty in Swabia; the cavalry of Melas, useless in the Apennines, was to perform it in Lombardy. The plan of the Austrians consisted, therefore, in temporising in Swabia, in operating early in Italy, in advancing on that side to the Var; then, when the French, drawn towards the Var, should strip the Rhine, in crossing that river and afterwards advancing in two masses, one eastward by Basle, the other to the south by Nice, and in thus levelling, without attack, the formidable barrier of Switzerland.

Competent judges of military operations have severely censured Austria, for having neglected Switzerland; as this permitted general Bonaparte to debouch from it, and to throw himself on the flank of marshal Kray, and on the rear of baron Melas. We are of opinion that, as the reader will presently be enabled to judge by the relation of the facts, no absolutely sure plan was possible, in presence of general Bonaparte, and with the irreparable disadvantage of Switzerland left in the hands of the French.

To obtain a clear conception of this memorable campaign, and to judge soundly of the precise designs of the belligerent parties, we must figure to ourselves exactly the position of Switzerland, and the influence which it must have upon the military operations, at that point in particular, at which the operations had arrived.

It is towards the eastern frontiers of France that the Alps begin to rise in the centre of the European continent. They then run eastward, separating Germany from Italy; and from them descend on one side the Danube and its tributaries, on the other, the Po and all the streams of which that large river is composed. The part of the Alps nearest to France is that which forms Switzerland. Their prolongation constitutes the Tyrol, belonging for ages to Austria.

When Austrian armies advance towards France, they are obliged to ascend the valley of the Danube, on the one hand, the valley of the Po, on the other, divided into two acting masses by the long chain of the Alps. While they are in Bavaria and in Lombardy, these two masses can communicate across the Alps by the Tyrol, which belongs to the emperor; but, when they arrive in Swabia, on the Upper Danube, in Piedmont, on the Upper Po, they find themselves separated from one another, without any possible communication across

the Alps, because Switzerland, independent and neutral, is usually closed against them.

This neutrality of Switzerland is a barrier which the policy of Europe has wisely placed between France and Austria, to diminish the points of attack between those two formidable powers. If, in fact, Switzerland is open to Austria, the latter may advance with her armies, communicating freely from the valley of the Danube to the valley of the Po, and threatening the frontiers of France from Basle to Nice. This is an immense danger to France, for she is obliged to be on her guard everywhere, from the mouths of the Rhine to the mouths of the Rhône; whereas, if the Swiss Alps are closed, she can concentrate all her forces on the Rhine, regardless of the attack that comes from the south, since the Imperialists never succeeded in any operation upon the Var, on account of the length of the circuit. The advantage of the Swiss neutrality is, therefore, important for France.

But it is not less important for Austria, nay, perhaps even more so. If, in fact, Switzerland becomes the theatre of hostilities, the French army can overrun it first; and, since its foot-soldiers are intelligent, agile, brave, and as fit for mountain warfare as for that of the plain, it has many chances of maintaining its footing there. A proof of this is exhibited in this very campaign of 1799. If, in fact, the Alps are attacked by the great chain, on the side next to Italy, it offers the resistance which Lecourbe offered to Suwarow, in the gorges of the St. Gothard; if they are attacked on the German side, in the lower part, it offers, behind the lakes and rivers, the resistance which Masséna offered behind the lake of Zurich, and which terminated in the memorable battle of that name. Now, when the French army retains possession of Switzerland, it has a most threatening position, of which it can avail itself to produce extraordinary results, as will be seen, by and by, in the account of the operations of general Bonaparte.

In fact, the two Austrian armies, which are, the one in Swabia, the other in Piedmont, separated by the whole extent of Switzerland, have no means of communicating with each other; and the French, debouching by the lake of Constance, on the one hand, by the high Alps on the other, may throw themselves either upon the flanks of the army in Swabia, or on the rear of the army in Italy. This danger it is impossible to avoid, whatever plan may be adopted, unless, by retreating fifty leagues, retrograding as far as Bavaria, on the one side, and as far as Lombardy, on the other.

The Austrians, then, must do one of these things—either, giving up all the advantages of the last campaign, they must abandon to us both Swabia and Piedmont; or, refusing such a sacrifice, they must endeavour to carry Switzerland by a prin-

cipal attack, in which they could not succeed, for it would be attacking in front an almost insurmountable obstacle, against which they had already failed; or they must divide themselves into two great armies, as they did, remaining separated by Switzerland, which would thus be placed on their flanks and on their rear. By this latter course they would have it in their power, it is true, to diminish one of their armies considerably, in order to strengthen the other, and, for instance, leave baron Melas but few troops, only just sufficient to keep Masséna in check, and increase the army in Swabia to 200,000 men; or do the contrary, by collecting their principal force in Piedmont. But, in one case, it would be abandoning Italy—Italy, the sole object and the ardently desired prize of the war; in the other, it would be giving up, without a battle, the Rhine, the Black Forest, the sources of the Danube, and shortening, by so much, the route of the French to Vienna; it would be, in fact, in either case, doing the most advantageous thing in the world for us; for, by the increase of one of the two armies to 200,000 men, the victory would be given to that power of the two which had general Bonaparte on its side. He was, in fact, the only general of that time capable of manœuvring 200,000 men at once.

There was, then, no perfectly safe plan for Austria, when the French were masters of Switzerland, which, be it observed by the by, proves that the Swiss neutrality is a very happy device for both powers. It adds, in fact, to their defensive means, by diminishing their offensive means; that is to say, it gives to their security all that it takes away from their aggressive power. Nothing better could be contrived for the preservation of general peace.

The Austrians, then, had not many courses to take, and, notwithstanding all that has been said, they took, perhaps, the only one they could take, by deciding to temporise in Swabia, to operate energetically in Italy, remaining separated by the barrier of Switzerland, which it was impossible for them to remove. But in this position there was more than one way of conducting themselves, and it must be acknowledged that they did not adopt the best; that they did not even foresee any of the dangers which threatened them. Persisting in their belief that the French armies were exhausted; not supposing that the army of Germany was capable of taking the offensive, and crossing the Rhine, before 150,000 Austrians posted in the Black Forest; still less supposing it possible to cross the Alps, without road, and in the snowy season; not seeing, besides, the third army which might be tempted to cross them, they indulged a confidence which proved fatal to them. To do them justice, it must also be acknowledged that many persons would have made the same mistake which they did; for their security

reposed on obstacles apparently invincible. But experience soon taught them that, before an adversary like general Bonaparte, all security, even though founded on insurmountable barriers, whether rivers or mountains of ice, was deceitful, and might become fatal.

France had two armies, that of Germany, increased by the junction of the armies of the Rhine and of Helvetia to 130,000 men; that of Liguria, reduced to 40,000 at most. In the troops of Holland, La Vendée, and the interior, there were the widely scattered elements of a third army; but superior administrative ability could alone assemble it, and on the sudden, at the point where its presence was wanted. General Bonaparte formed a plan for employing these various means as follows.

Masséna, with the army of Liguria, not augmented, merely supplied with provisions and ammunition, was ordered to keep on the Apennines, between Genoa and Nice, and there take post as at Thermopylæ. The army of Germany, under Moreau, strengthened as much as possible, was to make, along the whole course of the Rhine from Strasburg to Basle, from Basle to Constance, feigned demonstrations of crossing, then march rapidly behind the curtain formed by that river, ascend it to Schaffhausen, there throw over it four bridges at once, debouch in mass on the flank of marshal Kray, surprise him, drive him in disorder upon the Upper Danube, out-march him, if possible, cut him off from the route to Vienna, perhaps envelop him, and inflict on him one of those memorable disasters of which the present century has furnished more than one example. If the army of Moreau had not this luck, it might, at least, drive Kray upon Ulm and Ratisbon, oblige him thus to descend the Danube, and remove him from the Alps, so as to prevent him from ever sending succours thither. This done, it had orders to detach its right wing towards Switzerland, for the purpose of seconding there the perilous operation which general Bonaparte had reserved for himself to execute. The third army, called the army of reserve, the elements of which scarcely existed, was to form between Geneva and Dijon, and to await the issue of the first events, in readiness to succour Moreau, in case of need. But, if Moreau had succeeded in a part, at least, of his plan, this army of reserve, advancing under general Bonaparte to Geneva, from Geneva into the Valais, giving the hand to the detachment drawn from the army of Germany, then crossing the St. Bernard, over ice and snow, was, by a prodigy greater than that of Hannibal, to fall upon Piedmont, to take the baron de Melas, occupied with the siege of Genoa, in the rear, envelop him, bring him to a decisive battle, and, if it won it, to oblige him to lay down his arms.

Assuredly, if the execution were correspondent with such a plan, never would a finer conception have honoured the genius of a commander, ancient or modern. But, it is the execution

alone that gives their value to g[illegible]re military combinations, for, deprived of this merit, they are [illegible]re chimeras.

The execution, in this case, co[illegible]ed in an infinity of difficulties to be overcome—in the reorganisation of the armies of the Rhine and of Liguria, in the creation of the army of reserve, in keeping secret the creation and destination of that army; lastly, in the two-fold passage of the Rhine and of the Alps,—the second equal to the most extraordinary things which the art of war has ever attempted.

The very first care of general Bonaparte had been to recruit the army. The desertions to the interior, disease, and battle, had reduced it to 250,000 men, which one would scarcely believe, at a moment when France made head against a general coalition, if the fact were not attested by authentic documents. Fortunately, these 250,000 men were perfectly inured to war, capable of withstanding an enemy double in number. The First Consul had demanded 100,000 conscripts of the Legislative Body, which had granted them with truly patriotic cheerfulness. The war was so legitimate, so evidently necessary, after the offers of peace were refused, that mere hesitation would have been criminal. Of this, however, there was no reason to be apprehensive, and the eagerness of the Legislative Body was carried to enthusiasm. These 100,000 young conscripts, combined with 250,000 old soldiers, could not fail to form an excellent composition for an army. The prefects recently instituted, and who were already at their posts, imparted to the recruiting an activity which it had never yet had. But it would take five or six months before these conscripts could join their corps, drilled and fit for service. The First Consul resolved to keep in the interior all the corps exhausted by the war, and to employ them as skeletons, in which the new levy should be placed. On the other hand, he moved towards the frontiers all the corps capable of taking the field, and took care to transfer all the soldiers fit for service from the ranks of those who were to remain in the interior into the ranks of those who were going to fight. If, in proceeding thus, he could find 200,000 men to place immediately in line, it was as much as he could do. Under his powerful and skilful hand, however, this number was sufficient.

He made an appeal, at the same time, to the patriotic sentiments of France. Addressing himself to the soldiers of the first requisitions, whom the general discouragement produced by our reverses had brought back to their homes, he made those rejoin by force who had left their corps without leave, and he appealed to the zeal of those who had regular furloughs; he endeavoured to excite military tastes in all the young men whose imaginations were inflamed by the name of general Bonaparte. Though the enthusiasm of the first days of the Revolution had cooled, the sight of the enemy on our frontiers reanimated all

hearts; and that assistance which was still to be derived from the devotedness of volunteers was an advantage not to be despised.

To this attention bestowed on the recruiting the First Consul added some useful reforms relating to the administration and the composition of the army. In the first place, he instituted inspectors of reviews, charged to ascertain the number of men present under arms, and to save the treasury from paying for soldiers who were present only on paper. In the artillery he made a change of the greatest importance. The horses which drew the gun-carriages were then driven by men belonging to the waggon-train, who, not being restrained by a sense of honour, like the other soldiers, cut the traces of their horses at the first danger, and fled, leaving their guns in the hands of the enemy. The First Consul justly thought that the driver, whose duty it is to bring the piece to the place of battle, renders as valuable a service as the gunner, whose business it is to work it; that he incurs the same danger, and needs the same moral motive, that is, honour. He, therefore, converted the artillery-drivers into soldiers, wearing the uniform, and constituting part of the regiments of that arm. They formed 10,000 or 12,000 horsemen, who were expected to show as much zeal in bringing up their guns before an enemy, or in carrying them off with speed, as those did whose duty it was to load, point, and fire them. This reform was only begun, and could not produce all its useful consequences till a later period.

The artillery and the cavalry were likewise in want of horses. The First Consul ordered a forced and extraordinary levy of every thirtieth horse, having neither time nor means to make purchases. It was a hard but inevitable necessity. The armies were first to supply themselves in the country around them, and then, by degrees, further and further off, in the contiguous provinces.

The First Consul had sent to Masséna such pecuniary supplies as could be spared, for the relief of the unfortunate army of Liguria. From 60,000 men, of whom it was composed by the junction of the army of Lombardy and that of Naples, after the sanguinary battle of the Trebbia, it was reduced by privations to 40,000 at most, presenting but thirty and some odd thousand fighting men. Corn, which could neither come from Piedmont, occupied by the Austrians, nor from the sea, guarded by the English, was very scarce. These unfortunate soldiers had nothing to subsist upon but the crops of the Apennines, little better than nothing, as everybody knows. They would not go into the hospitals, destitute of the most needful articles of food; and they were seen, on the road from Nice to Genoa, wasted by famine and fever, exhibiting the most deplorable of sights—that of brave men left by the country which they were defending to perish for want.

Masséna, on receiving the money sent by the government, had made some purchases at Marseilles, bought up all the corn in that city, and shipped it for Genoa. Unfortunately, during this winter, the wind, not less rigorous than the enemy, continually retarded arrivals at Genoa from Marseilles, and replaced, in some measure, the blockade which the English could not keep up in the stormy season. A few vessels had, nevertheless, got in with their cargoes, and bread was again dealt out to the soldiers of Liguria. The government had sent them arms, shoes, some clothing, and hopes. As for military energy, nothing needed to be done to inspire them with that; for never had France seen soldiers endure such reverses with such fortitude. Those conquerors at Castiglione, at Arcole, at Rivoli, had borne unflinchingly the defeats of Cassano, of Novi, of the Trebbia; the temper which they had acquired could not be impaired under the strokes of Fortune. Besides, the presence of general Bonaparte at the head of the government, and of general Masséna at the head of the army, would have infused into them new courage, had they needed it. So they were but fed, clothed, and armed, the most important services might be obtained from them. In these respects the government did its best. Masséna, by some examples of severity, re-established discipline, shaken among them, and collected thirty and some thousand men, impatient to start again, under his command, for fertile Italy.

The instructions given by the First Consul for his guidance were ably conceived. Three narrow passages led across the Apennines from the inland slope to the maritime slope; these were the passage of the Bocchetta, debouching upon Genoa; that of Cadibona, upon Savona; that of Tende, upon Nice. The First Consul enjoined Masséna to leave only weak detachments at the Col de Tende, and at the Col de Cadibona, just sufficient to observe them, and to concentrate a force of 25,000 or 30,000 men, upon Genoa. That city being strongly occupied, an invasion of the south of France was scarcely to be presumed, and, at any rate, not much to be feared; for the Austrians would certainly not be rash enough to advance beyond the Var upon Toulon and the Bouches du Rhone, while Masséna was in their rear. Masséna might, moreover, fall, with his 30,000 assembled troops, upon those corps which should have passed the defiles of the Apennines. It was not likely, considering the nature of the country, with its narrow ravines and steep precipices, that he should meet with more than 30,000 men at once. He had, therefore, the means of making head everywhere against the enemy. Unluckily, this plan could not be carried into execution but by a general possessing the prodigious dexterity of the conqueror of Montenotte. For the rest, the First Consul was sure of having in Masséna an obstinate defender of the steep heights of the Apennines, and

who would find such employment for Melas as should detain him in Liguria during the whole time necessary for the combined movement of the French armies.

Nevertheless, it must be confessed, the army of Liguria was treated somewhat like a sacrificed army: not an additional man was sent to it; it was merely supplied with some *matériel*, and no more of that than was barely necessary. It was elsewhere that the principal efforts of the government were directed, because it was elsewhere that the great blows were to be struck. The army of Liguria was exposed to the risk of perishing, in order to give others time to be victorious. Such is that dire fatality of war, which passes from the head of the one to the head of the other, obliging these to die that those may live and triumph!

The army treated with most particular attention was that commanded by Moreau, and destined to act in Swabia. To this was sent all that could be spared, both in men and in *matériel*. The utmost efforts were made to ensure to it a complete artillery and abundant means of passage, that it might be able to cross the Rhine on a sudden, and, if possible, at a single point. General Moreau, of whom it has been said the First Consul was so jealous, was, therefore, about to have under his command the finest and most numerous army of the Republic, about men, while Masséna was to have no more than 36,000, First Consul 40,000 at most. This was not, however, compliment paid to the vanity of Moreau. More serious had determined this distribution of the forces. The n destined to throw Kray upon Ulm and Ratisbon was ighest importance for the general success of the cam- or, in presence of those two powerful Austrian armies, re advancing towards our frontiers, it was requisite rive back the one before it was possible to cross the the rear of the other. This first operation, therefore, e attempted with decisive means, which should render ss infallible. The First Consul, highly as he estimated estimated himself much higher; if either of them must with great means, he thought that he could shift with- better than Moreau. The sentiment which guided is occasion was a nobler sentiment than even gene- reat affairs of State; it was love of the public weal; ferred to the interest of every body, to that of others, own.

ny of the Rhine, though wearing, like the other he Republic, the rags of indigence, was superb. ripts had joined it, but in small number, just suf- nfuse youth into it. By far the greater part of it sed of those old soldiers, who, under the command , Kleber, Hoche, and Moreau, had conquered Hol- e banks of the Rhine, crossed that river several

times, and even penetrated to the Danube. It could not have been said, without injustice, that they were braver than the soldiers of Italy; but they exhibited all the qualities of accomplished troops:—they were discreet, sober, well disciplined, intelligent, and intrepid. The officers were worthy of the men. The distribution of this army into detached divisions, complete in all arms, and acting in separate corps, had developed to the highest point the talents of each general of division. These generals had equal but diverse merits. There was Lecourbe, the ablest officer of his time in mountain warfare,—Lecourbe, whose glorious name was repeated by the echoes of the Alps: there was Richepanse, who combined rare intelligence with audacious bravery, and who soon afterwards rendered Moreau, in the fields of Hohenlinden, the most important service that lieutenant ever rendered to his general: there was St. Cyr, with a mind cool and profound, and a disposition not the most sociable, but endowed with all the qualities of commander-in-chief: there was, lastly, young Ney, whom heroic courage, guided by a happy instinct for war, had already rendered popular in all the armies of the Republic. At the head of these lieutenants was Moreau, a man of sluggish, sometimes indecisive, but solid mind, and whose indecisions terminated in [illegible] and firm resolutions, when he was face to face with the [illegible]. Experience had singularly formed and extended his *coup d'œil*. But, while his military genius expanded [illegible] school of war, his civil character, weak, yielding to all in[illegible] had already succumbed, and was destined again to s[illegible] under the trials of politics, which strong and truly exalt[illegible] alone are capable of surmounting. At any rate, the [illegible] passion of jealousy had not yet stained the purity of [illegible] and corrupted his patriotism. From his experience, [illegible] of command, his high renown, he was, after general B[illegible] the only man capable, at that time, of commanding [illegible] men.

The plan of operations prescribed to him by the Fi[illegible] sul consisted in debouching in Swabia, at the point wh[illegible] best permit him to act on the extreme left of marshal[illegible] such a manner as to outflank him, to cut him off from [illegible] shut him up between the Upper Danube and the Rhine[illegible] case the Austrian army in Swabia would be undo[illegible] complish this, it would be necessary to cross the R[illegible] two or three points, but at one only, the nearest [illegible] Constance; an operation singularly bold and diffi[illegible] consisted in transporting across a river, and in pr[illegible] enemy, 100,000 men, with all their *matériel*; and, [illegible] confessed that, before Wagram, no general eve[illegible] river under the conditions stated. Accordingly, [illegible] great address to deceive the Austrians as to the [illegible] would be chosen; with great address, great bold[illegible]

execution of the passage, and, lastly, what is always needed, good luck. The First Consul had ordered a considerable quantity of boats to be collected in the tributaries of the Rhine, and particularly in the Aar, that three or four bridges might be thrown over at once, at the distance of a few hundred fathoms from each other. The only point then was to gain access for these combinations to the cold and far from audacious mind of Moreau.

After these attentions paid with unremitting zeal to the troops of Liguria and Germany, the First Consul had applied his energies to the creation of an army which soon accomplished the greatest things, under the title of army of reserve.

In order that it might fulfil its object, it was requisite not only to create it, but to create it while encouraging an universal disbelief in the possibility of the thing. We shall show in what manner he proceeded to obtain this twofold result.

The First Consul had contrived to find in Holland, and in the forces accumulated in Paris by the Directory, the means of pacifying La Vendée at a seasonable time; he contrived to find in La Vendée, when pacified, the necessary resources for creating an army, which, thrown unexpectedly on the theatre of military operations, must change the destinies of war. In writing to General Brune, commander-in-chief in the West, he addressed to him these beautiful words, which so well express his manner of operating, and that of the great masters in the art of administration and of war:—"Let me know if, besides the five demi-brigades for which I have applied to you by my last courier, you can spare one or two demi-brigades more, on condition of their being sent back in three months. We must make up our minds to stride over France as we formerly did over the valley of the Adige; after all, it is only performing ten days' march in one." (14th of Ventôse, year VIII.; March 5th, 1800. Archives in the State Paper Office.)

Though the English must have conceived an aversion to further descents on the continent since their adventure at the Texel, and particularly since the withdrawal of the Russians from the coalition, the immense extent of our coast from the Zuyder Zee to the Gulf of Gascony, could not be relinquished to them without any means of defence, the pacification of La Vendée being moreover so recent. The First Consul, therefore, left in Holland a force half French, half Dutch, to guard that valuable country: he gave the command of it to Augereau. It was formed into active divisions, complete in all arms and ready to march. When it was pretty certain, from the course of the operations, that no landing was to be apprehended, this corps of Augereau's was to march up the Rhine, and to cover the rear of Moreau in Germany. Out of the 60,000 men collected on the coast of Normandy and Bretagne, the First Consul selected the

thinnest demi-brigades, and charged them to guard the insurgent country. He took care still further to reduce their effective strength, by sending off to the active army the soldiers capable of serving, and thus fitted them for receiving a greater number of conscripts, whom they were to train at the same time that they guarded the coast. He formed them into five small camps, comprising artillery, cavalry, infantry, ready to march at the first signal, and commanded by good officers. Two of these camps were in Belgium, one at Liège, another at Maestricht, both destined to secure that country, agitated by the priests, and to co-operate, if need were, in the defence of Holland. There was one at Lille, ready to throw itself upon the Somme and Normandy, another at St. Lô, and a third at Rennes. This last was the most numerous: it contained from 7000 to 8000 soldiers. The others were from 4000 to 5000. The camps contained about 30,000 men. They were about to be doubled, at least, by the arrival of the fresh recruits. They were to perform the duty of the police both in the recently conquered countries, such as Belgium, and in the recently pacified countries, such as Normandy, Bretagne, and Poitou. The First Consul had ordered search to be made in the woods for concealed arms. He had begun to form, by the allurement of high pay, three or four battalions, composed of all those men who had contracted adventurous habits in the civil war; and he purposed, but without saying so, to send them to Egypt. As for the chiefs, he had assigned to them residences remote from the theatre of the civil war, and had soothed the mortification of this exile by pensions amply sufficient to make them truly comfortable.

These arrangements made, there remained, of the 60,000 men collected for the pacification of the interior, about 30,000 excellent soldiers, embodied in the demi-brigades which had suffered least. Some had returned to Paris, after the operations executed in Normandy against M. de Frotté. The others were in Bretagne and in La Vendée. The First Consul formed them into three fine war-divisions, two in Bretagne itself, at Rennes and at Nantes, the third in Paris. These divisions were to prepare for service with the utmost dispatch, to provide themselves with such *matériel* as was at hand, and to procure the rest on their march, by such means as we shall presently specify. They had orders to repair to the eastern frontier, with rapid strides, to use the words of the First Consul, as the army of Italy formerly strode over the valley of the Adige. It was certain that they would arrive in Switzerland in the month of April.

There was another resource, namely, the depôts of the army of Egypt, stationed in the south of France, and which had never been able to send recruits to their corps, because it was impossible for them to cross the sea, incessantly watched by the English. By throwing a few conscripts into these depôts, there might be formed fourteen very fine battalions, quite capable of

taking the field. Orders were given to despatch them towards Lyons, as soon as they should be equipped. This formed a fourth excellent division, and capable of rendering good service.

What is most difficult and takes the longest time in the composition of an army is the organisation of the artillery. The First Consul, by resolving to form this army of reserve in the east, had, in the depôts of Auxonne, Besançon, and Briançon, the means of collecting, in *personnel* and *matériel*, a force of sixty pieces of cannon. Two very able officers of artillery, generals Marmont and Gassendi, and who were devotedly attached to the First Consul, were despatched from Paris with orders to get ready these sixty pieces of cannon in the different depôts, but without divulging where they were to be concentrated or used.

A place of rendezvous for all these scattered forces was yet to be indicated. If an attempt had been made to conceal such preparations by silence, that very silence would have had the effect of giving the alarm. The First Consul wished to deceive the enemy by the very noise that he was about to make. He inserted in the *Moniteur* a decree of the Consuls for the creation of an army of reserve, which was to be formed at Dijon, and to be composed of 60,000 men. Berthier set off post for Dijon, to commence the organisation of it. The reader will recollect that Berthier was more master of his time since the entry of Carnot upon the ministry of war. A warm appeal was made to the old volunteers of the Revolution, who, after one or two campaigns, had returned to their homes. They were beseeched to repair to Dijon. A small quantity of *matériel* and a few conscripts were sent thither with great parade. Old officers, despatched to that point, exhibited an appearance of skeletons, for commencing the instruction of the conscripts. The newspaper writers, who were not permitted to touch on military affairs without great circumspection, were allowed to say what they pleased about the army organising at Dijon, and to fill their columns with particulars concerning it. This was sufficient to attract the spies of all Europe, and accordingly they did not fail to repair thither in great number.

If the divisions formed at Nantes, Rennes, and Paris, with the troops drawn from La Vendée; if the division formed at Toulon, Marseilles, Avignon, with the depôts of the army of Egypt; if the artillery prepared at Besançon, Auxonne, and Briançon, with the resources of these arsenals, had been assembled at Dijon, it would have been all over with the secret of the First Consul: every body would have been aware of the existence of the army of reserve. But he took good care not to act in that manner. Those divisions were marched off towards Geneva and Lausanne by different routes, so that the public attention was not particularly drawn to any one point. They passed for reinforcements destined for the army of the Rhine, which,

being spread from Strasburg to Constance, might well appear to be the goal towards which these reinforcements were marching. The preparations in *matériel*, ordered in the arsenals of Auxonne and Besançon, passed for a supplement of artillery destined for the same army. Those making at Briançon were supposed to relate to the troops in Liguria. The First Consul caused a quantity of spirits to be sent to Geneva; but neither did this supply betray its real destination, since our army in Germany had its base of operations in Switzerland. He ordered 2,000,000 rations of biscuit to be made in the departments bordering on the Rhone: these were destined for the subsistence of the army of reserve amidst the sterility of the Alps; 1,800,000 rations were secretly sent up the Rhine to Geneva, and the other 200,000 despatched with ostentation to Toulon, to induce a belief that these unusual supplies were made for the navy. Lastly, the divisions in march, conducted slowly and without fatiguing them, towards Geneva and Lausanne—they had, in fact, half of March, and the whole of April to perform the distance—received by the way such things as they were in need of—shoes, clothing, muskets, horses. The First Consul, having settled in his own mind the route which they were to follow, and carefully ascertained the nature of their wants, forwarded to every place through which they were to pass a supply, sometimes of one thing, sometimes of another, taking good care not to excite attention by a large assemblage of stores at a single point. The correspondence relative to these preparations was not carried on through the war-office, but confined between himself and the commanders of corps, and sent by trusty aides-de-camp, who travelled post to and fro, saw every thing with their own eyes, did every thing directly, furnished with the irresistible orders of the First Consul, and ignorant all the while of the general plan which they were furthering.

The secret, confined to the First Consul and Berthier, and two or three generals of engineers and artillery, to whom it was absolutely necessary to communicate the plan of the campaign, was strictly kept. None of them would have betrayed it, because secrecy is an act of obedience, which governments obtain in proportion to the ascendency which they exercise. On this ground, that of the First Consul had no indiscretion to fear. The foreign spies who thronged to Dijon, finding there only a few conscripts, a few volunteers, and a few old officers, fancied themselves extremely shrewd in discovering that there was nothing serious in the matter; that the First Consul evidently made all this noise merely to frighten baron de Melas, to prevent him from penetrating by the mouths of the Rhone, and persuading him that he should find in the south of France an army of reserve capable of stopping him. Such was the construction put upon the matter by all who believed themselves to be good

judges of it; and the English newspapers were soon filled with thousands upon thousands of squibs. Among the caricatures of the day, was one on the army of reserve; it represented a child leading an invalid with a wooden leg.

This was just what the First Consul wanted: his only wish was to see himself laughed at for the moment. Meanwhile, his divisions were marching, his *matériel* was preparing towards the eastern frontiers, and, in the first days of May, an army, formed in a trice, would be ready either to support Moreau, or to throw itself on the other side of the Alps, and change the face of events there.

The First Consul had not neglected the navy. After the cruise which admiral Bruix had made in the preceding year in the Mediterranean, with the combined forces of France and Spain, the grand fleet, under his command, had returned to Brest. It was composed of fifteen Spanish ships, and about a score of French, in the whole little short of forty sail. Twenty English ships were blockading it at the moment. The First Consul took advantage of the first financial resources which he had succeeded in creating, to send some provisions and part of the arrears of pay to this fleet. He enjoined it not to suffer itself to be blockaded; if it had but thirty sail against twenty to put to sea on the first occasion, were it even obliged to fight; and if it was possible to keep at sea, to pass the Straits of Gibraltar, to steer thence for Toulon, to take in convoy there some vessels laden with supplies for Egypt, and then to raise the blockade of Malta and Alexandria. The coast once clear, commerce alone would suffice for revictualling the French garrisons scattered along the shores of the Mediterranean.

Such was the attention paid by the First Consul to military affairs, while, with Messrs. Sieyès, Cambacérès, Talleyrand, Gaudin, and other participators in his labours, he was engaged in organising the government, in re-establishing the finances, in creating a civil and judicial administration, lastly, in negotiating with Europe. But it was not enough to conceive plans, to prepare for the execution of them; it was necessary to instil his ideas into the heads of his lieutenants, who, though amenable to his consular authority, were not so completely subservient then as they were afterwards, when, with the titles of marshals of the Empire, they obeyed an Emperor. The plan prescribed to Moreau, in particular, had turned his cold and timid head topsy-turvy. That general was frightened at the boldness of the operation which he was ordered to perform. We have already described the country on which he was to operate. The Rhine, we have said, runs from east to west between Constance and Basle, turns northward at Basle, passing by Brisach, Strasburg, and Mayence. In the angle which it thus describes is what is called the Black Forest, a woody and mountainous tract, intersected by defiles, which lead from the valley of the Rhine

to that of the Danube. The French army and the Austrian army occupied, in some measure, the three sides of a triangle: the French army occupied two, from Strasburg to Basle, from Basle to Schaffhausen; the Austrian army one only, from Strasburg to Constance. The latter, therefore, had the advantage of a more easy concentration. Kray, having his left under Prince Reuss in the environs of Constance, his right in the defiles of the Black Forest, nearly to Strasburg, his centre at Donau-Eschingen, at the point of intersection of all the roads, could concentrate his forces speedily before the very spot which Moreau might choose for crossing the Rhine, whether between Strasburg and Basle, or between Basle and Constance. Such was the subject of the French general's uneasiness. He feared that Kray, presenting himself with his whole force at the point of passage, might render that passage impracticable, perhaps even disastrous.

The First Consul had no such apprehensions. He conceived, on the contrary, that the French army might very easily concentrate itself on the left flank of Kray, and thus turn it. On this account, he desired, as we have already said, that, taking advantage of the curtain which covered it, that is to say, of the Rhine, it should ascend that river on a sudden; that it should assemble between Basle and Schaffhausen; that, with boats secretly provided in the tributary streams, it should throw across four bridges on one and the same morning; and that it should debouch to the number of 80,000 or 100,000 men, between Stockach and Donau-Eschingen, falling upon the flank of Kray, cutting him off from his reserves and from his left, and driving him in disorder upon the Upper Danube. He thought that, if this operation were executed with promptness and vigour, the Austrian army in Germany might be destroyed. What he did at a later period, setting out from a different point, but in the same parts, about Ulm; what he did this same year by the St. Bernard, proves that this plan had in it nothing but what was perfectly practicable. He was of opinion that the French army, not operating in an enemy's country, since it would ascend by the left bank, having only to march without fighting, might, with certain precautions, steal two or three marches upon Kray, and that it would be at the point of passage, before that general had collected sufficient means to prevent it.

This was the plan which had disturbed the mind of Moreau, unaccustomed to these bold combinations. He was fearful that Kray, receiving timely intelligence, would advance with the mass of his forces to meet the French army, and would drive it into the river. Moreau would rather avail himself of the existing bridges at Strasburg, Brisach, and Basle, for debouching in several columns on the right bank; he proposed in this manner to divide the attention of the Austrians, to draw them principally towards the defiles of the Black Forest, corresponding

with the bridges of Strasburg and Brisach, then, after enticing them into these defiles, slip away suddenly, march along the Rhine with the columns which should have crossed that river, and post himself before Schaffhausen, to cover the rest of the army while debouching there.

Moreau's plan was not without merit, but neither was it without serious inconveniences; for, if it tended to avoid the danger of a single passage executed in mass, it had, by dividing this operation, the inconvenience of dividing the forces, of throwing two or three detached columns upon the enemy's ground, of making them perform a dangerous flank march as far as Schaffhausen, where they were to cover the last and principal passage of the river. Lastly, this plan had the disadvantage of securing few or no results; for it did not throw the French army entire and all at once upon the left flank of marshal Kray; which would have been the only way to overpower the Austrian general, and to cut him off from Bavaria.

It is a sight worthy of the attention of History, that of these two men, opposed to each other in an interesting circumstance, which exhibited so conspicuously their diversities in mind and character. The plan of Moreau, as is frequently the case with the plans of second-rate men, had only the appearances of prudence; but it might succeed in the execution, for, we must incessantly repeat it, the execution redeems every thing: sometimes it causes the best combinations to miscarry, and the worst to succeed. Moreau persisted, therefore, in his ideas. The First Consul, wishing to persuade him by means of a chosen agent, summoned to Paris general Dessoles, chief of the staff of the army of Germany, possessing an acute, penetrating mind, worthy of serving for a link between two powerful and susceptible men; for he had a desire to conciliate his superiors, which is not always found in subordinates. The First Consul, therefore, called him to Paris about the middle of March (end of Ventôse), and kept him there several days. After explaining his ideas to him, he made him perfectly comprehend them, and even prefer them to those of Moreau. General Dessoles, nevertheless, persisted in advising the First Consul to adopt Moreau's plan, because it was necessary, in his opinion, to leave the general who operates, to act according to his own ideas and character, when he is moreover a man worthy of the command entrusted to him. "Your plan," said he to the First Consul, "is grander, more decisive, probably also more sure; but it is not adapted to the genius of him who is to execute it. You have a way of carrying on war, which is superior to any other; Moreau has his, inferior, no doubt, to yours, but yet excellent. Leave him to act; he will act well, slowly perhaps, but surely; and he will procure for you all the results that you need for the success of your general combinations. If, on the other hand, you insist on the execution of your ideas, you will

upset him, you will even offend him, and you will obtain nothing from him, by wanting to obtain too much." The First Consul, as well versed in the knowledge of men as in that of his profession, appreciated the wisdom of the advice of general Dessoles, and gave way. "You are right," said he; "Moreau is not capable of appreciating and executing the plan which I have conceived. Let him do as he pleases, provided he throws marshal Kray upon Ulm and Ratisbon, and afterwards sends back his left wing, in time, upon Switzerland. The plan, which he does not comprehend, which he dares not venture to execute, I will execute myself, on another part of the theatre of war. What he dares not do on the Rhine, I will do on the Alps. He may, by and by, regret the glory which he relinquishes to me." Proud and profound words, containing an entire military prophecy, as the reader will be able to judge presently.*

The manner of crossing the Rhine being thus left to Moreau, there was still one point left to settle. The First Consul much wished that the right wing, commanded by Lecourbe, should remain in reserve on the Swiss territory, quite ready to support Moreau, if he needed it, but that it should not penetrate into Germany, if its presence there was not indispensable; in order that it might not have to retrograde for the purpose of co-operating among the Alps. He knew, however, what a difficult thing it is to take from a commander-in-chief a detachment of his army, when operations are once commenced. Moreau insisted on having Lecourbe, engaging to return him to general Bonaparte, as soon as he should have driven marshal Kray upon Ulm. The First Consul complied with this desire, resolved to concede every thing to maintain harmony; but he required Moreau to sign an agreement, by which he engaged, after he had thrown the Austrians upon Ulm, to detach Lecourbe, with 20,000 or 25,000 men towards the Alps. This agreement was signed at Basle, between Moreau and Berthier, the latter being officially considered as general-in-chief of the army of reserve.

General Dessoles had left Paris, after he had completely settled all the points in discussion with the First Consul. Their plans were concerted: every thing was ready for opening the campaign, and it was important to commence operations immediately, in order that, Moreau having executed early the part of the plan which concerned him, the First Consul might throw himself to the other side of the Alps, and extricate Masséna before he was overwhelmed, for he was struggling with 36,000 men against 120,000. The First Consul wished that Moreau should open the campaign by the middle of April, or the end of that month at latest. But his solicitations were vain: Moreau was not ready, and he had neither activity, nor a mind fertile in

* I had the honour, in my youth, to receive this account from the lips of general Dessoles himself.

resources, which make amends for the insufficiency of means. While he was delaying, the Austrians, adhering to their plan of taking the initiative in Italy, attacked Masséna and commenced with that general a struggle which the disproportion of strength has rendered worthy of everlasting remembrance.

The army of Liguria comprehended, at most, 36,000 men fit for active service, and distributed in the following manner.

Thirteen or fourteen thousand men, under general Suchet, forming the left of the army, occupied the Col de Tende, Nice, and the line of the Var. A corps detached from that wing, about 4000 strong, under the command of general Thureau, was posted on Mont Cenis. There were consequently 18,000 men engaged in guarding the frontier of France, from Mont Cenis to the Col de Tende.

Ten or twelve thousand men, under general Soult, forming the centre of the army, defended the two principal debouches of the Apennines, that which descends from the upper Bormida upon Savona and Finale, and that of the Bocchetta, which descends upon Genoa.

Seven or eight thousand men, very nearly, under the intrepid Miollis, occupied Genoa, and a Col which debouches near that city, on the opposite side to that of the Bocchetta. Thus, the second half of this army, 18,000 men, or thereabouts, defended the Apennines and Liguria. The danger of a separation between these two portions of the army, that which occupied Nice, and that which occupied Genoa, was evident.

These 36,000 French had opposed to them the 120,000 Austrians under the baron de Melas, perfectly recruited, fed, revictualled, thanks to the abundance of all things in Italy, and to the subsidies with which England furnished Austria. General Kaim, with the heavy artillery, the cavalry, and a corps of infantry, in all 50,000 men, had been left in Piedmont, to serve for rear-guard there, and to observe the debouches from Switzerland. Melas, with 70,000 men, the greater part infantry, had advanced towards the defiles of the Apennines. He had, besides the superiority in number, the advantage of concentric position; for Masséna was obliged with 30,000 men (the surplus occupying Mont Cenis) to guard the semicircle formed by the Maritime Alps and the Apennines, from Nice to Genoa—a semicircle not less than forty leagues in extent. General Melas, on the contrary, placed on the other side of the mountains, in the centre of this semicircle, between Coni, Ceva, and Gavi, had but a little way to go, in order to reach one or the other of the points which he proposed to attack. He could easily make false demonstrations on one of these points, and then, striking off rapidly for the other, act upon it *en masse*. Masséna, threatened in this manner, had forty leagues to travel, in going from Nice to the relief of Genoa, or from Genoa to the relief of Nice.

It was upon these circumstances viewed as a whole that the instructions given by the First Consul to Masséna were founded —instructions already referred to in a general manner, but which it is necessary to recapitulate rather more in detail. Three roads, fit for artillery, led from one side of the mountains to the other: that which, by way of Turin, Coni, and Tende, debouches upon Nice and the Var; the second, ascending the valley of the Bormida, leads by the Col of Cadibona, towards Savona; lastly, that of the Bocchetta, which, by Tortona and Gavi, descends, on the left of Genoa, into the valley of the Polcevera. The danger was lest baron de Melas should bring his whole force to bear upon the second of these debouches, cut the French army in two, and throw half upon Nice and half upon Genoa. Perceiving this danger, the First Consul addressed to Masséna, in letters full of admirable foresight (March 5th and 12th), instructions, the substance of which I shall here give—Beware, said he, of having too extended a line. Have few men upon the Alps and at the Col de Tende, where the snow will defend you. Leave some detachments about Nice and the surrounding forts; have four-fifths of your force at Genoa and in the environs. The enemy will debouch upon your right towards Genoa, upon your centre towards Savona, probably on both points at once. Refuse one of the two attacks, and fall with your whole united force upon one of the enemy's columns. The ground will not permit him to avail himself of his superiority in artillery and cavalry; he will be able to attack you with infantry alone; yours is infinitely superior to his, and, favoured by the nature of the ground, it may make amends for deficiency in number. In this broken country, if you manœuvre well, you may, with 30,000 men, beat 60,000, and to carry 60,000 infantry into Liguria, M. de Melas must have 90,000, which presupposes a total army of 120,000 men, at least. M. de Melas has neither your activity nor your talents; you have no reason to be afraid of him. If he appears towards Nice, while you are at Genoa, let him march; don't stir: he will not venture to push very far, while you remain in Liguria, ready to fall upon his rear, or upon the troops left in Piedmont.

Various causes prevented Masséna from following this prudent advice. In the first place, he was surprised by the sudden irruption of the Austrians, before he had time to rectify the position of his troops, and to make his definitive arrangements: secondly, he had not sufficient provisions in the city of Genoa to concentrate his whole army there. Fearful of consuming the provisions, which the place would have great need of, in case of a siege, he wished to make use of the resources of Nice, which were much more abundant. Lastly, it must be confessed, Masséna did not sufficiently comprehend all the profundity of the instructions of his superior, to disregard the inconveniences,

real enough, it is true, of a general concentration upon Genoa. Masséna was, perhaps, the first of the generals of his time on a field of battle; in point of character, he was equal to the most resolute generals of any age; but, though he had abundance of natural talent, the extent of his views fell short of the promptness of his *coup d'œil* and the energy of his mind.

Thus, for want of time, for want of provisions, for want also of being sufficiently impressed with the importance of the step, he did not concentrate his forces soon enough upon Genoa, and was surprised by the Austrians. The latter opened the campaign on the 5th of April (the 15th Germinal), that is to say much earlier than one would have expected hostilities to be resumed. Baron de Melas advanced, with about 70,000 or 75,000 men, to force the chain of the Apennines. His lieutenants, Ott and Hohenzollern, were despatched with 25,000 men upon Genoa. General Ott, with 15,000, ascending the Trebbia, approached by the cols of Scoffera and Monte-Creto, which debouch upon the right of Genoa; Hohenzollern, with 10,000, threatened the Bocchetta, which debouches upon the left of that city. Baron de Melas, with 50,000 men, ascended the Bormida, and attacked simultaneously all the positions of what we have called the middle road, which runs by way of Cadibona to Savona. His intention, as the First Consul had foreseen, was to force our centre and to separate general Suchet from general Soult, who gave the hand to each other at about this point. A violent struggle ensued, from the sources of the Tanaro and of the Bormida to the scarped summits overlooking Genoa. Generals Elsnitz and Melas sustained obstinate encounters with Suchet at Rocca-Barbena, Sette-Pani, Melogno, and Santo Jacobo; with Soult at Montelegino, Stella, Cadibona, and Savona. The soldiers of the Republic, profiting by this mountainous country, availing themselves of all the accidents of the ground, defended themselves with incomparable bravery, inflicted on the enemy a loss three times as great as their own, for their fire was poured down upon dense and deep masses; but, obliged to fight without ceasing against troops continually renewed, they were at length forced to fall back, vanquished by exhaustion and fatigue more than by the Austrians. Generals Suchet and Soult were compelled to separate, and to retire, the one upon Borghetto, the other upon Savona. The French line was thus broken, as might easily be foreseen; one half of the army of Liguria was thrown upon Nice; the other doomed to shut itself up in Genoa.

On the side of Genoa itself, the success had been equally balanced. The attack on the Bocchetta, attempted by count Hohenzollern, with too few troops to worst the French, that is with about 10,000 men against 5000, was repulsed by Gazan's division. But, on the right of Genoa, that is, towards the positions of the Monte-Creto and of Scoffera, which afford access to the valley of

Bisagno, general Ott, having vanquished the division of Miollis, which had not 4000 men to oppose to 15,000, descended on the back slope of the Apennines, and, surrounding all the forts which covered the city, displayed the Austrian colours to the affrighted Genoese. The English squadron at the same time hoisted the British flag. If the inhabitants of the city were patriots and partisans of the French, the peasants of the neighbouring valleys, attached to the aristocratic party, as the Calabrese in the kingdom of Naples were to queen Caroline, as the Vendeans in France were to the Bourbons, rose at the sight of the soldiers of the coalition. They rang the alarm bell in all the villages. A baron d'Aspres, attached to the imperial service, and possessing some influence in the country, excited them to revolt. In the evening of the 6th of April, the unfortunate inhabitants of Genoa, seeing the fires of the Austrians on the surrounding mountains, on the sea the English flag flying, began to be afraid that the oligarchy, already mad with joy, would in a few days re-establish its detested empire.

But the intrepid Masséna was amidst them. Though separated from Suchet by the attack directed against his centre, he still numbered from 15,000 to 18,000 men; and, supported by such a garrison, he could defy any enemy whatever to force before his face the gates of Genoa.

To enable the reader to comprehend the operations executed by the French general during the memorable siege, it is necessary to describe the theatre on which it took place.

Genoa is seated at the very bottom of the beautiful gulf which bears its name, at the foot of a spur of the Apennines. This spur, running from north to south down to the very water, before plunging into it, separates into two ridges, one turning to the east, the other to the west, thus forming an inclined triangle, the apex of which is connected with the Apennines, while the base is supported upon the sea. It is at the base of this triangle, and, be it remarked, with the ordinary irregularity of nature, that Genoa spreads itself out in long streets, bordered with magnificent palaces. Nature and art had done much for its defence. On the side next the sea, two moles, running towards one another so as almost to cross, formed the port, and defended it against hostile squadrons. On the land side, a first bastioned rampart surrounds the densest and most populous part of the city. An outer rampart of vast extent, and bastioned like the preceding, was carried along the heights, which, as we have just said, describe a triangular figure around Genoa. Two forts, constructed storywise, one above another, Spur fort and Diamond fort, were placed at the apex of this triangular figure, and covered by their commanding fire the whole of the fortifications.

But this was not all that was done to keep the enemy at a great distance. If you turn your back to the sea and your face

to Genoa, you have the east on your right, the west on your left. Two small rivers, the Bisagno on the east, or the right, the Polcevera on the west, or the left, wash the two sides of the outer rampart. The Bisagno descends from those same heights of the Monte-Creto and Scoffera, which you must cross when you come from the back of the Apennines, in ascending the Trebbia. That side of the valley of the Bisagno, which is opposite to the city, is called the Monte-Ratti, and presents, several positions, from the heights of which great mischief might have been done to Genoa, if they had not been occupied. Great care had, therefore, been taken to crown them with three forts, those of Quezzi, Richelieu, and St. Tecle. The valley of the Polcevera, on the contrary, situated on the left of Genoa, and descending from the heights of the Bocchetta, offers no commanding position requiring works of art for the defence of the city. But a straggling suburb, on the sea-side, that of San Pietro di Arena, presented a mass of building useful and easy to be defended.

Thus the fortification of Genoa presented a triangle, inclined fifteen degrees to the horizon, having an extent of 9000 fathoms, connected by its apex with the Apennines, washed at the base by the sea, and bordered on its two sides by the Bisagno on the east, and the Polcevera on the west. The Spur fort, and above that Fort Diamond, covered its summit. Forts Richelieu, St. Tecle, and Quezzi, prevented destructive fires from being poured from the flanks of Monte-Ratti upon the city of marble palaces.

Such was Genoa at that day; such were its defences, which art, time, and contributions imposed upon France, have since greatly improved.

Masséna had it still in his power to assemble 18,000 men. If, with such a garrison, in so strong a fortress, he had had a sufficient stock of provisions, he would have been invincible. We shall see what character can effect in war, for retrieving a fault of combination or of foresight.

Masséna, determined to oppose an energetic resistance to the enemy, purposed to do immediately two very important things; the first consisted in driving back beyond the Apennines the Austrians who pressed Genoa too closely; the second in effecting a junction with general Suchet, by a movement in concert with that general, along the line of the Corniche.

To execute the first design, it was requisite that he should dislodge the Austrians from the Bisagno, on the one hand, and the Polcevera, on the other, and that he should drive them, by the Monte Creto and the Bocchetta, to the other side of the mountains from which they had come. Without losing a day, on the very next after their first appearance, that is, on the 7th of April (17th Germinal), he sallied from Genoa, on the east side, and traversed the valley of the Bisagno, followed

by the brave division of Miollis, which had been obliged, two days before, to withdraw from before the greatly superior forces of general Ott. He reinforced it with part of the reserve, and, placing himself at its head, marched in two columns: the right, under general d'Arnaud, kept close to the shore, and proceeded towards Quinto; the left, under Miollis, directed its course towards the acclivities of Monte Ratti. A third column, under general Petitot, followed, marching up the bottom of the valley of the Bisagno, which winds at the foot of Monte-Ratti. Such was the precision of the movement of these three columns, that their fire was heard at the same moment on all the points at once. General d'Arnaud, by one slope, general Miollis, by the other, forced their way with the utmost vigour to the heights of the Monte Ratti.

The presence of Masséna himself, and the desire of revenging the surprise of the preceding day, animated the soldiers. The Austrians were hurled into the torrents, and lost all their positions. General d'Arnaud passed on, and, following the crest of the heights, reached the very summit of the Apennines, the Col of Scoffera. Masséna, followed by some companies of reserve, descended into the valley of the Bisagno, to join Petitot's column. Thus reinforced, this latter column repulsed the enemy everywhere, and, ascending the river, lent its support to general d'Arnaud's movement on Scoffera. Entangled in the winding valleys, the Austrians left Masséna 1500 prisoners, and at their head that baron d'Aspres, who had instigated the revolt of the peasants of La Fonte Buona.

When, on the evening of the same day, Masséna returned to Genoa, after delivering the Genoese from the sight of the enemy, and bringing back as prisoner that officer whose speedy triumphal arrival was announced, the joy of the patriotic, and most numerous, portion of the population, was extreme. He was greeted with acclamations. The inhabitants had provided litters for carrying the wounded, and wine and broth to refresh them, and they disputed the honour of receiving them into their houses.

After this act of vigour towards the east, the most important side to clear, because upon that only the city was closely pressed by the Austrians, Masséna resolved to take advantage of the respite procured him by the last success, for making an effort towards the west, that is, towards Savona, and thereby re-establishing his communications with general Suchet. To secure Genoa from all attack during his absence, he divided the troops left him into two corps; the right under general Miollis, the left under general Soult. The corps of general Miollis was destined to guard Genoa with two divisions. D'Arnaud's division was to defend the east side, fronting the Bisagno; Spital's division, the west, fronting the Polcevera. The left corps, under general Soult, was charged to keep the field with the two divi-

sions of Gardanne and Gazan. It was with this force, of about 10,000 men, that Masséna purposed to approach Savona, sending a secret express to Suchet, with orders to attempt a simultaneous movement upon the same point. Gardanne's division was directed along the shore, and Gazan's upon the crests of the Apennines, with the intention of inducing the enemy, by the appearance of two separate columns, to split his forces. Afterwards manœuvring rapidly on this ground, with which he was perfectly acquainted, Masséna meant, according to circumstances, to unite these two divisions into one, so as to cut to pieces, either on the tops of the Apennines, or along the coast, any corps of the enemy that might be most exposed to his attacks. He commanded Gardanne's division in person; and had consigned Gazan's to general Soult. His intention was to follow the coast by Voltri, Varaggio, and Savona; his lieutenant, general Soult, had orders to ascend by Aqua-Bianca and San-Pietro del Alba, upon Sassello.

On the morning of the 9th of April, our troops commenced their movement. The baron de Melas, after cutting the French army in two, purposed to shut up Masséna in Genoa, and at the same time to contract his own line, which was too extended, for it embraced a space of at least fifteen leagues, from the valley of the Tanaro to that of the Trebbia. The two armies met in their movement, and upon this broken ground ensued a most obstinate and at the same time confused conflict. While Masséna marched in two columns, the baron de Melas was marching in three, and count Hohenzollern, forming a fourth, tried a new attack on the Bocchetta. Ten thousand French were about to meet more than 40,000 Austrians.

General Soult, defiling by Voltri, perceived on his right the Austrians, who had passed the Bocchetta, and crowned the surrounding heights. On arriving at a place called Aqua Santa they might threaten the rear of the French columns, and prevent their return towards Genoa. General Soult thought it prudent to drive them back: a brilliant action was the consequence; colonel Mouton, since marshal, and count Lobau, commanding the 3rd demi-brigade, displayed extraordinary valour. General Soult took some cannon and prisoners, and, in spite of a host of enemies, gained the mountain road to Sassello. The time spent in this action, (which could not prevent the ulterior advance of the Austrians upon the rear of our columns,) made it impossible for Soult to reach Sassello, on the other side of the Apennines, by the time that general Masséna was awaiting him there. The latter had marched along the sea, and next day, April the 10th, he was in the environs of Varaggio, formed into two columns, and seeking to enter into communication by the heights with the corps of general Soult, whom he supposed to be at Sassello. The enemy, whose force was ten times the number of ours, endeavoured to envelop Masséna's two small

columns, and especially the left, which he commanded in person. Masséna, relying upon his right column and upon the movement of general Soult towards Sassello, resisted for a long time, with 1200 men, a corps of from 8000 to 10,000, and displayed extraordinary firmness on this occasion. Being obliged to retreat, and having lost sight of his right column, which had fallen behind, in consequence of a tardy distribution of provisions, he set out in search of it, amidst frightful precipices and bands of revolted peasants. Having at last fallen in with it, he ordered it to rejoin the rest of Gardanne's division, which had continued to follow the coast by Varaggio and Cogoletto. The difficulty of concerting his movements among this multitude of enemies, and in so broken a country, having prevented the timely meeting of general Soult's corps with the corps of general Masséna, the latter resolved to rally his troops, to ascend the crest of the Apennines on his right, to join his lieutenant, and then fall upon the Austrian corps scattered in those valleys. But our harassed troops had dispersed upon the roads, and could not be collected in time. Masséna then determined to send to general Soult all who were capable of marching, to serve for a reinforcement; and with the rest, consisting of wounded and exhausted soldiers, he continued to follow the sea-coast, and regained the approaches of Genoa, in order to cover the retreat of the *corps d'armée*, and to ensure its re-entry into the place. Reduced to a handful of men, he had several times to sustain the most disproportionate conflicts; and, in one of these actions, a French battalion, taken unawares, having given way before a charge of Szekler hussars, he himself charged those hussars with thirty horse, and drove them back. He finally posted himself at Voltri, for the purpose of awaiting there the return of general Soult. The latter, thrown into the mountains, among detachments of the enemy five or six times as numerous, was exposed to great dangers there; and, after the most glorious efforts, he must have succumbed at last but for the succours so seasonably sent to him by Masséna. Reinforced in time, he was enabled to regain the road to Genoa, after sustaining with advantage a most arduous and most unequal contest. He at length rejoined his general-in-chief, and both re-entered Genoa, cutting their way, and bringing with them 4000 prisoners. General Suchet, on his part, had endeavoured to rejoin his general-in-chief, but he had found it impossible to penetrate the enormous mass of the Austrian army.

The Genoese were transported with admiration at the sight of the French general entering their city for the second time, preceded by columns of prisoners. His ascendency had become all-powerful. The army and the population obeyed him with the profoundest submission.

Masséna might, from that moment, consider himself as definitively shut up in Genoa; but he had no intention to suffer

himself to be pressed too closely. His design was to keep the enemy continually at a distance from the walls, to exhaust him by incessant fights, to occupy him in such a manner that he could neither force the Var, nor retire to Lombardy, nor oppose the projected march of the First Consul across the Alps.

No sooner had he returned, on the 18th of April (28th Germinal), than he directed his attention to the internal police and the provisioning of the place. Fearful lest the Genoese nobles might practise treachery, he took precautions against any surprise on their part. The national guard, composed of Ligurian patriots, supported by a French force, encamped in the principal square in the city, with lighted matches to the guns, the national guard was to assemble whenever the drums should beat to arms. Such of the inhabitants as did not belong to it were ordered to retire, at this signal, to their houses. The armed troops alone were authorised to traverse the streets. At ordinary times, the inhabitants were to be at home by ten o'clock at night, and assemblages at any time were strictly prohibited.

Masséna had collected the corn to be found in Genoa, promising to pay, and actually paying for it, when it was brought cheerfully; seizing it by means of domiciliary visits, when the owners refused to deliver it. After securing all the corn, he put both army and populace upon rations, and had thus procured wherewithal to feed his soldiers and the poor inhabitants during the first fortnight of the siege. This fortnight had nearly elapsed; but there were still left provisions, which the money of the wealthy drew forth at a high price from certain secret stores, and for their sole use. By order of Masséna a fresh search was made, and there was found a sufficiency of the ordinary kinds of grain, rye, oats, and others, to supply the citizens and the army with coarse bread for another fortnight. It was hoped that some lucky gale of wind might drive off the English, and bring some cargoes of provisions into the harbour. Some assistance was expected from the Corsican and Ligurian privateers, which had been furnished with letters of marque for the capture of vessels laden with corn. In short, Masséna had determined to hold out to the last extremities, and he had resolved, rather than submit, to feed the troops upon the cacao with which the warehouses of Genoa were abundantly stocked. Being supplied with some money, sent by the First Consul, he hoarded this for extreme cases, and also made use of it for affording occasional relief to his unfortunate soldiers, under their cruel privations. Already, in this series of encounters, several thousand men had been put *hors de combat*, and a great number were in the hospitals. In the forts, upon the two ramparts of the place, and in reserve, there was left an active force of about 12,000 combatants.

In this desperate state of things, Masséna, appearing every day with calm and serene countenance, at length communicated

to others the courage with which he was himself animated. His aide-de-camp, Franceschi, embarked in a small boat to proceed to the coast of Nice, and thence to repair to the First Consul, in order to acquaint him with the hardships, the exploits, and the pressing dangers of the army of Liguria.

On the morning of the 30th of April (10th Floreal), a general cannonade, thundering on all points at once; on the east towards the Bisagno, on the west towards the Polcevera, lastly, along the coast itself, proceeding from a division of gun-boats, announced some grand attempt of the enemy's. The Austrians, in fact, brought forward a great force on that day. The count of Hohenzollern attacked the plateau of the Two Brothers, on which Fort Diamond was erected. After some fierce efforts, he made himself master of the plateau, and summoned Fort Diamond. In reply to this summons, the brave officer who commanded it declared, that he would not surrender the post committed to his honour till he was compelled by main force. This fort was of the greatest importance, since it commanded the Spur Fort, and, consequently, the whole ramparts. The Austrian camp of Coronata, situated on the banks of the Polcevera, towards the west front, opened a vehement fire on the suburb of San Pietro di Arena, and several attacks were made at the same time, for the purpose of cooping us in a narrower space than we occupied in this quarter. On the opposite side, that is to say, towards the Bisagno, the enemy surrounded Fort Richelieu, and unluckily took Fort Quezzi, which was not completely finished when the siege began. Lastly, he made himself master of the village of St. Martin d'Albaro, situated below Fort St. Tecle, and he was near occupying a formidable position, that of La Madona del Monte, from which the city of Genoa might be cannonaded. The soldiers of general d'Arnaud had already abandoned the last houses of the village of St. Martin d'Albaro; scarcely any of them now kept their ranks, many having dispersed themselves in irregular parties. Masséna hastened to the spot, rallied them himself, renewed the fight, and arrested the enemy.

Half the day was already gone: it was high time to repair the mischief. Masséna instantly repaired to Genoa, and made suitable dispositions. He gave to general Soult the 73rd and 106th demi-brigades, and ordered him to retake the plateau of the Two Brothers. But, wishing first to recover Fort Quezzi, and to force the enemy to evacuate St. Martin d'Albaro, he himself led the Miollis division against that point, after reinforcing it with battalions borrowed from the 2nd and the 3rd of the line.

D'Arnaud's division, returning to the charge, turned St. Martin d'Albaro, drove back the enemy who had occupied it into the ravine of the Sturla, took from him some prisoners, and thus covered the right of the French columns advancing upon Fort

Quezzi. While the brave colonel Mouton, at the head of two battalions of the 3rd, attacked this Fort Quezzi in front, adjutant-general Hector was directed to turn the Monte Ratti by the heights of Fort Richelieu. In spite of unparalleled efforts, the brave colonel Mouton was repulsed, but he did not yield ground, till he received a ball which went through his chest, and left him nearly dead on the field of battle. Masséna, who had no more than two battalions, pushed one upon the right flank of the position occupied by the enemy, and directed half of the other upon the left flank of the same position. A fierce encounter took place around this Fort Quezzi. Too close to fire, the combatants fought with stones and with the butt of the musket. Our soldiers were nearly overpowered by numbers. Masséna then took the half battalion which he had left, put himself at the head of it, and decided the victory. Fort Quezzi was retaken.

The Austrians, driven from position to position, left a great number of dead, wounded, and prisoners. At this instant Masséna, who had deferred the attack on the plateau of the Two Brothers, profiting by the effect produced by these advantages, sent orders to general Soult to take it. The general of brigade, Spital, was sent to attack this plateau, which was long disputed. At length, our soldiers retook it, and thus, after a whole day's fighting, they recovered at once the plateau of the Two Brothers, which commanded the extreme point of the place, Fort Quezzi, the posts of St. Martin d'Albaro and of La Madona del Monte, in short, all the important positions, without which the siege of Genoa was impossible for the Austrians. Masséna returned in the evening to Genoa, carrying with him the ladders which the enemy had provided for scaling the walls. The Austrians had lost on this day 1600 prisoners, 2400 killed and wounded, about 4000 men. Including these, Masséna had taken from them, or killed, 12,000 or 15,000 men since the opening of hostilities; and, what was a still more serious matter, he had exhausted the moral force of their army by the unparalleled efforts which he had obliged them to make.

No time was lost in setting about the repair of Fort Quezzi. This work, which seemed likely to take a month, was finished in three days, by means of five or six hundred barrels of earth, which were brought by the soldiers, and served to form the entrenchments. On the 5th of May (15th Floréal), a small vessel laden with corn brought a supply for five days. It was a most valuable addition to the stock of provisions, by this time reduced very low. But it became urgent to relieve the place, otherwise it could not hold out long. Of bread it was likely to be very soon destitute.

General Suchet, on his part, finding himself overpowered from the crests of the Apennines, had been obliged to quit the position of Borghetto, to abandon even the Roya, which was

no longer tenable, the enemy marching at full liberty by the Col de Tende, and threatening Nice and the Var. Nice was even occupied by the baron de Melas, who entered that city triumphantly, glad to tread a soil, which the Republic had declared to be French territory. But general Suchet rallied behind the Var, in a position which has long furnished a study for our officers of engineers. The bridge of St. Laurent on the Var, covered by a *tête de pont*, presented a defile of 400 fathoms to pass, and might be considered as an insurmountable obstacle. The whole right bank, guarded by the French, was covered with batteries, from the mouth of the river to the mountains. The forts of Montalban and Vintimille, situated in advance of the Var, had been occupied by French garrisons at the moment of the evacuation of Nice. That of Montalban, situated on the rear of the Austrians, at an elevation which rendered it visible from the camp of the French, was surmounted by a telegraph, by means of which general Suchet received notice of all the movements of the enemy. All the disposable troops of all arms had been brought together from the contiguous departments, so that he still numbered 14,000 men, who, screened by good entrenchments, were in a position difficult to be stormed.

On the receipt of these tidings from Liguria, the First Consul despatched urgent remonstrances to Moreau, to decide him to commence hostilities. It was a month since every thing had been settled between them, and no further difficulty imputable to the government impeded the army of the Rhine. But Moreau, naturally rather slow, unwilling to commit himself upon an enemy's territory but with the full certainty of success, deferred wrongly the commencement of the operations. In fact, any delay made by him in opening the campaign was a delay to the opening of the campaign by the army of reserve, and a cruel prolongation of the extremities which Masséna and his brave soldiers were suffering. Hasten—such was the language addressed to Moreau from Paris—hasten, by your successes, to accelerate the moment when Masséna may be relieved. That general is in want of provisions; for this fortnight he has been maintaining a desperate struggle, with his emaciated soldiers. I address myself to your patriotism, to your own interest; for, if Masséna should be obliged to capitulate, it would be necessary to take from you part of your forces, and hurry to the Rhone, to the succour of the southern departments.—At last a formal order was given to him, by the telegraph, to pass the Rhine.

The reasons which prevented Moreau from opening the campaign would have been good under less urgent circumstances. Alsace was exhausted; Switzerland, in particular, over-run for two years by the armies of all Europe, was totally drained of resources. The inhabitants, unable to support their children, were under the necessity of emigrating with them, from the poor cantons into the rich ones. The ruined

families thus consigned them to the bounty of families which still possessed some means of subsistence. Nothing could be demanded from such a country, which, besides, it would have been impolitic to exasperate, for it was the "*point d'appui*" of our two principal armies. Moreau, as we have seen, was living upon the stores provided for our fortresses on the Rhine, in case of siege. This, however, was not the real motive of his delay; it would have been a motive, on the contrary, for hastening, with all possible speed, to procure subsistence in an enemy's country; but his artillery and cavalry were in want of horses. He had no camp equipage, no implements; if he had materials for throwing a bridge, that was the utmost. Nevertheless, considering the urgency of the circumstances, he consented to make shift without such things as were yet wanting, hoping to procure them by the way. So excellent was the composition of his army, that it could make amends for the deficiency of what it had not, dispense with it, or take it by force. At the end of April (the first days of Floréal), Moreau, therefore, decided to open this campaign, the most glorious in his life, and one of the most memorable in our annals.

He had at his disposal, as we have seen, about 130,000 men, rather more than fewer. About 30,000 men occupied the fortresses of Strasburg, Landau, Mayence, the *têtes de pont* of Basle, Brisach, Kehl, and Cassel. Out of these 30,000, 6000 or 7000, under General Moncey, guarded the valleys of the St. Gothard and the Simplon, to close them against the Austrians, in case they attempted to penetrate into them. The active army thus numbered 100,000 men, ready to take the field. The infantry, in particular, was superb; it numbered 82,000 men; the artillery 5000, with 116 pieces of cannon; the cavalry 13,000. As the reader will perceive, the numbers of the artillery and the cavalry were far below the usual proportions; but their composition was excellent; and, besides, the quality of the infantry enabled it to dispense with those auxiliary arms.

Moreau divided his army into four corps; Lecourbe commanded the right, 25,000 strong, and stationed from the Lake of Constance to Schaffhausen. A second corps, called the corps of reserve, amounting to nearly 30,000 men, and under the immediate command of Moreau, occupied the territory of Basle. A third, of 25,000 men, forming the centre, under St. Cyr, was distributed about Old and New Brisach. Lastly, general St. Suzanne, at the head of about 20,000 men, after ascending from Mayence to Strasburg, occupied Strasburg and Kehl, and formed the left of the army.

Moreau had for years past adopted this system of splitting his forces into separate corps, each complete in infantry, artillery, and cavalry, capable of shifting for themselves, wherever they might be, but subject to the inconvenience, as experience soon demonstrated, of readily parting company and acting by them-

selves, especially when the commander-in-chief did not exercise his authority with sufficient vigour to enforce at all times their co-operation in the general plan. This inconvenience was further aggravated by one step in particular, which Moreau adopted in this campaign; it was that of assuming to himself the direct command of one of the *corps d'armée*, under the name of reserve. St. Cyr, who had long served with Moreau, and who had great influence with him, strongly opposed this combination,* alleging that it absorbed the general-in-chief, made him stoop to a part that was not his, and, above all, that it was injurious to the other portions of the army, rarely so well treated as the troops placed under the general staff. But these animadversions, the justice of which was more than once demonstrated in this campaign, did not prevail. Moreau persisted in his resolution, out of complaisance for the wishes of a *coterie*. Having already entrusted the direction of his staff to general Dessoles, and desirous, nevertheless, of creating an appointment for general Lahorie, one of those dangerous friends who, at a later period, contributed to his ruin, he made him second in command of the reserve. This circumstance produced a coolness between Moreau and St. Cyr, which soon waxed into open rupture.

M. de Kray, the adversary of Moreau, had, as we have said, 150,000 men, 40,000 of whom were in the fortresses on the Rhine and Danube, and 110,000 in the active army. The infantry, mixed with Bavarians, Wurtembergers, Mayencers, was middling. The cavalry was superb; it numbered 26,000 horse. The numerous and well-served artillery consisted of 300 pieces of cannon. The right of the Austrians, under the command of M. de Sztarray, observed the course of the Rhine, between Mayence and Rastadt, connecting itself with the levies of Mayence peasants commanded by the baron d'Albini. General de Kienmayer covered the *débouché* of Strasburg, in advance of Kinzig. Major Giulay, with a brigade, held the Höllengrund, and observed Old Brisach. The bulk of the Austrian army was encamped behind the defiles of the Black Forest, at Donau-Eschingen and Willingen, at the junction of the roads leading from the Rhine to the Danube. Forty thousand men were assembled at this point. M. de Kray had placed in the Forest Towns a strong advanced guard, under the archduke Ferdinand, with directions to observe the Basle road; he had left a numerous rear-guard, under prince Joseph of Lorraine, at Stockach, to cover the magazines established in that town, to guard the roads to Ulm and Munich, and to connect himself with the Lake of Constance, where Williams, an Englishman, commanded a flotilla. Lastly, prince Reuss, at the head of 30,000 men, partly Austrian regiments, partly Tyrolese militia,

* See on this subject the *Mémoires du Maréchal Saint-Cyr*, campaign of 1800.

occupied the Rheinthal, from the Grisons to the Lake of Constance. This was considered as the left of the imperial army. M. de Kray, at the centre of this net, spread around him, flattered himself that he should be informed of the slightest movement of the French.

The plan of Moreau already detailed, and which consisted in debouching by the three bridges of Strasburg, Brisach, and Basle, and in then stealing away and ascending the Rhine to Schaffhausen, had been adopted without modification.* On the 25th of April, Moreau put his troops in motion. He proceeded himself to Strasburg, where he joined the corps of St. Suzanne, that, by his presence at that point, he might cause it to be inferred, that it was his intention to act by the direct road from Strasburg across the Black Forest. He had taken another precaution the better to mask his movements, which was not to assemble his forces beforehand. The demi-brigades marched from their very cantonments directly to the place where they were to pass the Rhine, and thus joined on their route the corps of which they formed part. Every thing being thus arranged, three imposing heads of columns, acting simultaneously within a space of thirty leagues, crossed at the same instant the bridges of Strasburg, Old Brisach, and Basle. This was on the 25th of April.

General St. Suzanne, who commanded the extreme left and had crossed at Strasburg, swept all that he found before him. He fell in here and there with detached corps, which made no great resistance. However, not desiring to involve himself in serious actions, he halted between Renchen and Offenburg, threatening at once the valleys of the Renchen and of the Kinzig; but striving most especially to persuade the Austrians that his intention was to gain the Danube by way of the Black Forest, and by following the valley of the Kinzig. At the same instant, St. Cyr debouched from Old Brisach, and advanced to Freiburg, briskly driving the enemy's detachments before him; but observing, like St. Suzanne, the precaution not to push on too far. He experienced some resistance before Freiburg. The Austrians had entrenched the heights surrounding that town, and placed behind the entrenchments troops of peasants, raised in the mountains of Swabia, upon pretext of defending their homes against the ravages of the French. These could not keep their ground. Freiburg was occupied in a twinkling. Some of these unfortunate peasants were slaughtered, and the others were not again seen during the remainder of the campaign. St. Cyr

* Marshal St. Cyr, in his *Mémoires*, appears to be in error on this point. The First Consul had adopted the plan entire. This fact is attested by a letter of general Dessoles, contained in the *Mémorial de la Guerre*, and by the manuscript correspondence.

posted himself in such a manner as to induce a belief that he had designs on the Höllengrund (Val d'Enfer).

The reserve debouched on the same day by the bridge of Basle, and, not meeting with any obstacle, pushed a division, that of Richepanse, towards Schlingen and Kandern, to give the hand to St. Cyr's corps, which, in two days, was to ascend the Rhine.

During the whole of the 26th of April (6th Floréal), St. Suzanne remained in position in advance of Strasburg, St. Cyr in advance of Brisach. The reserve, which had debouched from Basle, finished deploying, while awaiting the movement of the two corps destined to ascend the Rhine, till they were in a line with itself. Moreau left Strasburg, to return to his head-quarters, which were in the centre of the reserve.

The 27th was likewise spent in misleading the enemy, as to the direction of our columns. The Austrians might naturally expect a decided movement by the Kinzig and the Höllengrund. These two defiles are, in fact, the most direct route for an army advancing from the Rhine to the Danube, for they open at some distance from one another, run in the same direction, and at length unite between Donau-Eschingen and Hufingen, not far from Schaffhausen, at which point was the corps of general Lecourbe. It was natural to suppose that the two strong columns, of from 20,000 to 25,000 men each, which appeared at the entrance of these defiles, would really pursue that direction, to give the hand to Lecourbe. In order to guard them the better, M. de Kray detached twelve squadrons and nine battalions from Willingen, and sent them as reinforcements to general Kienmayer. He was obliged to weaken Stockach, to supply the place of the troops which he had detached from Willingen.

But, in the night of the 27th, and on the 28th, while M. de Kray was falling into the snare, the direction of the French columns was suddenly changed. St. Suzanne fell back upon Strasburg, recrossed the Rhine with his whole corps, and ascended the left bank, that he might not have to make too long a flank movement in an enemy's country. On reaching New Brisach, he again crossed to the right bank, and took the place of St. Cyr before Freiburg, as if he was about to enter the Höllengrund. St. Cyr, on his part, turning off to the right, but without quitting the German side, marched along the bank of the river with his artillery, his cavalry, and his baggage; and, while his heavy *matériel* thus followed the level country, a great part of his infantry marched on the flank of the mountains, by St. Hubert, Neuhof, Todnau, and St. Blaise. Moreau's object in pursuing this course was, to avoid encumbering the banks of the Rhine, to reconnoitre the heights of the Black Forest, full of Austrian detachments, and to cross, nearer to their

sources, the rivers which descend from those heights to the Rhine, through the territory of the Forest Towns. These rivers are the Wiesen, the Alb, and the Wutach. Unluckily, St. Cyr had reckoned on finding roads where none really existed. He was obliged to traverse a frightful country, always near the enemy, and without artillery. Still he was not too long delayed, nor prevented from arriving at St. Blaise, on the Alb, by the appointed day.

At the same time, Moreau ascended the Rhine with the reserve, remaining, like St. Cyr, on the German bank. Richepanse, who commanded the advanced guard, after he had seen St. Cyr's artillery and cavalry debouch, which artillery and cavalry, as we have just said, followed the bank of the Rhine, set out for St. Blaise, to connect himself, in the mountains, with the infantry of the same corps. Generals Delmas and Leclerc, who commanded the two other divisions of the reserve, were directed upon Söckingen, and then upon Alb, before the bridge of Albruck. This bridge was covered by entrenchments. Adjutant-general Cohorn, marching at the head of a battalion of the 14th light, two battalions of the 50th, and of the 4th hussars, advanced in columns upon the entrenchments, and carried them. He then leaped upon the shoulders of a grenadier, passed the Alb in that manner, and did not leave the enemy time to destroy the bridge. He took some cannon and prisoners.

On the 29th of April (9th Floréal), the centre, under St. Cyr, and the reserve, under Moreau, were in line on the Alb, from the abbey of St. Blaise to the influx of the Alb into the Rhine. St. Suzanne arrived at New Breisach, by the left bank; on our extreme right, Lecourbe assembled his corps between Diesenhofen and Schaffhausen, ready to execute his passage, when St. Cyr and Moreau should have ascended the Rhine till they were on a line with him. On the 30th of April, St. Suzanne crossed the Rhine, and appeared at the entrance of the Höllengrund. St. Cyr remained in the environs of St. Blaise. Moreau advanced towards the Wutach. At length, on the 1st of May (11th Floréal), the army made its last and most decisive movement, and made it successfully. M. de Kray had begun to perceive his mistake, and now recalled the corps which had entered too far into the defiles of the Black Forest. St. Suzanne, who was to pass through the Höllengrund, which debouches upon the very positions that the French army was to occupy, when it should have completed its movement, found the troops of Kienmayer in retreat, and closely pursued them. St. Cyr kept on the skirts of the archduke Ferdinand's corps, and pushed it from Bettmaringen to Stühlingen on the Wutach, where he arrived in the evening. The troops of Moreau crossed the Wutach without encountering much resistance, repaired the bridge, which wanted scarcely any thing but a few planks, and endeavoured to connect them-

selves by their right with Schaffhausen, where Lecourbe was, and by their left with Stühlingen, where St. Cyr was. This was the moment that Lecourbe was to choose for crossing the Rhine. On the very morning of the 1st of May, thirty-one pieces of cannon were placed on the heights of the left bank of the river, to sweep by their fire the environs of the village of Reichlingen. Twenty-five boats transported general Molitor, with two battalions, to the right bank, to protect the construction of a bridge, long prepared in the Aar. In an hour and a half this bridge was thrown over. General Vandamme crossed, with a great part of the troops of Lecourbe's corps, and occupied in an instant the roads leading to Engen and Stockach, important points of the enemy's line. He took the small town of Stein and the fort of Hohentwiel, reputed to be impregnable, and well supplied both with provisions and artillery. Goulu's brigade, crossing at the same time towards Paradis, met with a very smart resistance at the village of Busingen, but soon overcame it. Lastly, Lorges' division entered Schaffhausen in the evening, and effected its junction with the troops of Moreau.

Thus, in the evening of the 1st of May, the whole army was beyond the Rhine. The three principal corps, under command of St. Cyr, Moreau, and Lecourbe, forming a mass of between 75,000 or 80,000 men, occupied a line which passed through Bondorf, Stühlingen, Schaffhausen, Radolfzell, to a point on the Lake of Constance. They were ready to march upon Engen and Stockach, threatening at once the line of retreat and the magazines of the enemy. St. Suzanne, with the left, 20,000 strong, pursued the Austrians in the defile of the Höllengrund, waiting till the bulk of the French army should, in advancing, have cleared the outlet of that defile, before he debouched on the Upper Danube, and joined the other corps.

This movement, then, was effected in six days, and in the most successful manner. Moreau, presenting three heads of columns by the bridges of Strasburg, Brisach, and Basle, had drawn the enemy towards those three débouchés; then, stealing away all at once, and marching to the right along the Rhine, two of his corps on the German bank, one on the French bank, he had ascended as high as Schaffhausen, where he had covered Lecourbe's passage. Fifteen hundred prisoners, six field-pieces with their horses, forty pieces of ordnance in the fort of Hohentwiel, and some magazines, had been taken. The men had everywhere shown a steadiness, a resolution, which could only be expected of veteran troops, full of confidence in themselves and in their leaders.

All the objections urged against this plan are certainly silenced by its success. Rarely indeed do we see movements so complicated succeed more completely, the enemy fall into the snare with greater credulity, or the commanders of corps co-operate with more precision. At the same time, this plan of the prudent Moreau's was attended with at least as many dangers

as that of the First Consul, which he rejected as too rash: for St. Cyr and Moreau had exposed their flank for several successive days, in their march along the Rhine, cooped up between the mountains and the river; St. Cyr had been for an instant separated from his artillery; and now St. Suzanne was engaged alone in the Höllengrund. If marshal Kray, by a sudden inspiration, had thrown himself upon St. Cyr, Moreau, or St. Suzanne, he would have had a chance of routing a detached corps, which might have caused a retrograde movement of the whole French army. But Moreau had two advantages in his favour: in the first place he took the offensive, which always disconcerts the enemy; secondly, he had excellent troops, who were capable of repairing any unforeseen accident by their firmness, who did even repair, as we shall see presently, more than one fault of the commander-in-chief's by their mettle in action.

The moment approached when the two armies, after manœuvring, one to pass the Rhine, the other to prevent that passage, were at length to meet beyond the river. On the 2nd of May (12th Floréal), Moreau prepared for this encounter; but, not supposing it to be so near as it really was, he neglected to take measures of precaution, either sufficiently prompt or sufficiently complete. He resolved to dispatch Lecourbe, with his 25,000 men, for Stockach, where were at once the rear-guard of the Austrians, their magazines, their communications with the Vorarlberg, and prince Reuss. This was following the letter of the plan concerted with the First Consul; for M. de Kray, cut off from Stockach, would be separated from the Lake of Constance, and consequently from the Alps. Moreau, therefore, ordered Lecourbe to set out on the morning of the 3rd of May (13th Floréal) to take Stockach from the prince of Lorraine-Vaudemont, who with 12,000 men occupied that important point. As for Moreau, he advanced himself with all the reserve upon Engen, keeping an eye upon Lecourbe, and ready to fly to his assistance, if that should be necessary. He directed St. Cyr to advance, and occupy an extended position from Bettmaringen and Bondorf to Engen, so as to connect himself with him on one side, and to give a hand on the other to St. Suzanne, who was soon to issue from the Höllengrund (Val d'Enfer).

Moreau marched then, in order of battle, having his back to the Rhine, his right to the Lake of Constance, his left to the débouchés of the Black Forest, presenting a front of fifteen leagues, exactly parallel to the line of retreat which the Austrians must pursue, if they retreated from Donau-Eschingen to Stockach, whither many interests summoned them. It was a very extended position, especially so near to the enemy, and which, before an active and resolute adversary, would have exposed the French army to serious consequences. Fortunately for us, the army of M. de Kray was still less concentrated than Moreau's. M. de Kray, whose position was at first better

adapted than ours for a rapid concentration, since he occupied, from Constance to Strasburg, the base of a triangle, the two sides of which we occupied, M. de Kray, surprised now by our movement, having already upon his left flank three fourths of the French assembled and transported across the river, was in a difficult situation. He had given to the detachments of the Austrian army which were near the Rhine hasty orders to fall back, by the Black Forest, upon the Upper Danube; but a prompt and well-concerted operation could alone extricate them from the danger. In order the better to comprehend the manœuvres, let us take a survey of the theatre of these operations.

That mountainous and wooded tract called the Black Forest, around which the Rhine winds, without penetrating into it, and which it leaves to pursue its course northward, this tract contains an insignificant spring, which gives rise to a river, extremely modest at its birth, but destined to become one of the largest rivers in the world; namely, the Danube. It pours forth this stream to the east, in which direction it flows, inclining, it is true, a little to the north, being forced into that direction by the projecting foot of the Alps, which it skirts all the way to Vienna. It collects in its course all the streams that descend from this long chain of mountains, which is the cause of its sudden magnitude, after so humble an origin.

When an Austrian general defends against the French the valley of the Danube, the ordinary route to his country, he has two courses to pursue. He may, when the French have found means to penetrate into it by Switzerland and the Black Forest,—he may either skirt the foot of the Alps, supporting his left upon the mountains, his right upon the Danube, and successively defending all the rivers that run into it, such as the Iller, the Lech, the Isar, the Inn; or, quitting the Alps, place himself *à cheval* (i. e. occupy both banks) on the Danube, descend the river, making a stand at the important positions which it presents, as those of Ulm, Ratisbon, &c., ready to cover himself with its bed, which grows gradually wider, or to fall upon the imprudent adversary who shall have made a false manœuvre. The latter course has been the more generally preferred by Austrian tacticians.

Marshal de Kray had it in his choice to adopt the one or the other; either to support himself upon the Alps, or to manœuvre on the Danube. In supporting himself upon the Alps, he would unknowingly thwart the plan of the First Consul, who, in order to descend in safety from those lofty mountains upon the rear of the baron de Melas, wished to keep the imperial army in Swabia aloof from Switzerland and the Tyrol; but he would sacrifice his right wing, too far advanced towards the Rhine, without knowing what would become of it. By adopting, on the other hand, the plan of manœuvring on both banks of the Danube, he would certainly rally his right wing,

but would separate himself from his left wing, commanded by prince Reuss, though without sacrificing it, for it had in the Tyrol an asylum and an employment for its forces. He would fall in, it is true, with the views of the First Consul, still without knowing it, by moving away from the Alps; this, however, was a minor evil; for, were he even to support himself upon them, he would probably never think of throwing himself into Lombardy, to succour the baron de Melas. The plan, then, which presented the least inconvenience, which was most accordant with the course usually pursued by the imperial armies, was to concentrate himself on the Upper Danube. But, in order to succeed, it was requisite to adopt this course promptly and resolutely. Unfortunately for him, M. de Kray had immense magazines at Stockach, near the Lake of Constance, with a strong rear-guard of 12,000 men, under the command of the prince of Lorraine-Vaudemont. He ought, then, to have transported his rear-guard immediately from Stockach to the Upper Danube, and to have repaired thither himself, sacrificing his magazines, which, at any rate, there would not have been time to evacuate. This was not what he did; but, with the intention, however, of manœuvring afterwards on the Danube, he sent M. de Nauendorff, with the centre of the Austrian army, upon Engen, to succour Stockach. He ordered prince Ferdinand, who was in the Black Forest, to repair to the same point, and his right, under Messrs. Sztarray and de Kienmayer, to leave the Rhine and to rejoin him with the utmost expedition.

There is this great inconvenience attached to those vast magazines of provisions customary among the Germans, that the movements of an army must be thus regulated by them. The French dispense with magazines, and spread themselves in the evening over the country to procure subsistence, without discipline suffering to any extent from this practice. They are active, industrious, and contrive to be at one and the same time marauding and with their colours. The German troops are rarely exposed to this trial, without dispersing and becoming disorganised. There is certainly one advantage in possessing magazines, that of bearing less heavily upon the country occupied, and not exasperating it against the invading army.

Moreau, marching with his right upon Stockach, with his reserve upon Engen, while the corps of St. Cyr extended itself to give the hand to St. Suzanne, was likely, therefore, to meet with the rear-guard of M. de Kray at Stockach, with his centre at Engen, and to skirt the troops of prince Ferdinand, who was in march to rejoin the main body of the Austrian army. An unexpected battle must result from this meeting, a circumstance which frequently happens in war, when plans have not been matured by superior minds, capable of foreseeing and directing events.

Ever since morning, Lecourbe had been in march for Stockach, throwing out Lorges' division on the left, to connect him with Moreau, pushing Montrichard's division, with Nansouty's reserve cavalry, straight forward, on the high road from Schaffhausen to Stockach; lastly, sending Vandamme's division to the right, between Stockach and the Lake of Constance. The latter was divided into two brigades; one, under general Leval, manœuvring in such a manner as to cut off Stockach from the Lake of Constance, by Bodmann and Sernadingen, met with no resistance, for prince Reuss, who might have shown himself there, took little pains to communicate with his commander-in-chief; the other, under general Molitor, directed by Vandamme in person, marched to the rear of Stockach by a cross-road, while Nansouty and Montrichard proceeded thither direct by the high road from Schaffhausen. There were seen in the depths of the woods infantry falling back, and cavalry reconnoitring the country while falling back also. At length they arrived at the positions which the Austrians seemed disposed to defend. Montrichard found them in order of battle beyond the village of Steusslingen, covered by a large body of cavalry. The French infantry passed through that village in two columns, and deployed to the right and left, threatening the enemy upon his flanks. At the same moment, the cavalry of Montrichard's division, supported by the whole of Nansouty's reserve, debouched from Steusslingen, charged vigorously, and overthrew the imperialists, who retreated to Neuzingen. This position was the second, and the principal of those which covered Stockach. It supported itself upon that of Wahlwyes, which Vandamme threatened at the moment with Molitor's brigade. A numerous infantry was perceived, barring the extremity of the village of Neuzingen, supported on the right and left upon woods, and covered by cannon. It would require a very vigorous effort to dislodge it. Montrichard caused it to be turned by a height called the Hellemberg, while Vandamme, having passed Wahlwyes, debouched on the rear of Neuzingen. The position was carried, and Lecourbe's whole corps being united, debouched *en masse* upon Stockach, and took it. The Austrians endeavoured to make one more stand against us beyond Stockach, and to keep us in check. They presented 4000 men in order of battle, covered by all their cavalry. Nansouty's regiments charged this cavalry, and threw it in disorder upon the infantry, which, this time, thought only of surrendering. Lecourbe took 4000 prisoners, 8 pieces of cannon, 500 horses, and the immense magazines in Stockach. It could not be otherwise. Lecourbe, with troops capable of fighting an enemy greatly superior in number, had, moreover, twice the number of men that the prince of Lorraine had, though he had detached Lorges' division, to connect itself with Moreau. His task was finished early; and, had more vigour

and unity been displayed in these operations, he might and he ought to have been employed elsewhere, as we shall see presently.

Lorges' division, destined to serve for a link between Lecourbe and Moreau, had separated into two brigades. Goulu's brigade had marched upon Aach, to scour the country between Stockach and Engen, and, finding no enemy to fight, had turned off to Stockach, where it became useless. General Lorges, with the rest of his division, having joined Moreau's troops, accompanied them towards Engen.

Moreau, with all that was called the corps of reserve, had been marching ever since morning upon Engen. M. de Kray, at the same instant, passed through that place on his way to Stockach, to save his magazines. He soon perceived, from the number of troops deploying before him, that there would be a battle, instead of a reconnaissance; and he stopped short for the purpose of giving battle, trusting to the mass of 40,000 men which he had at hand, and to the strength of the positions to which chance had just conducted him. On leaving, towards Schaffhausen, the banks of the Rhine for those of the Danube, in that confused, broken country, where the declivities are inconsiderable, there is a small valley, that of the Aach, which conveys to the Lake of Constance those waters that do not run either into the Rhine or into the Danube. In this valley is seated the small town of Engen. To descend to Engen, you must first climb a series of wooded heights, very difficult of access. These heights the Austrians occupied with their infantry; they had their cavalry in the plain of Engen. It was requisite for Moreau to dislodge them from these heights, and then to descend into the plain, and engage the imperial cavalry there. He marched himself at the head of Delmas' and Bastoul's divisions, and half of Lorges' division. He had directed Richepanse's division upon his left, along what is called the Blumenfeld road. The latter, passing through a series of valleys, was to turn the enemy's positions by less defended approaches; and all together, if they succeeded, were then to descend *en masse* upon Engen.

Lorges, who had outstripped a little the reserve troops, found a strong body of the enemy near Waterdingen, and, before attacking, he waited for Delmas' division, which soon came up. They then charged all together, and dislodged the Austrians. Having arrived at this point, they had to climb the heights which surround Engen, and for this purpose it was necessary for them to traverse rather steep plateaux, commanded on the right by a position called the Maulberg; on the left, by a very lofty peak, known by the name of the peak of Hohenhewen. Lorges was charged to attack the Maulberg. After a slight cannonade he charged that point. The enemy gave way. Delmas, then turning to the left, directed his course to a wood, which surrounded the peak of Hohenhewen, and which was occupied by

eight battalions of the enemy's infantry. Two battalions of the 46th advanced upon this wood without firing, while general Grandjean and adjutant-general Cohorn turned it with a detachment. No sooner had the two battalions of the 46th received the enemy's fire, than they rushed upon him with bayonets fixed. The eight Austrian battalions, finding themselves so vigorously attacked in front, and turned on their right, abandoned the wood. Our troops, having taken the principal positions that defended the approaches to the valley of Engen, had only to descend into that valley, through which runs a large rivulet. The enemy had retired to the peak of Hohenhewen; he had placed his artillery and his infantry on the declivities, and drawn up 12,000 cavalry in order of battle in the plain of Engen. Moreau intended at first to take the peak of Hohenhewen, and immediately ordered Delmas' division to attack it. That division, on leaving the wood, of which it had gained possession, was exposed to a destructive fire, which it bravely endured. General Jocopin, putting himself at the head of the infantry, ascended the slopes of the peak, and received a ball in his thigh; but general Grandjean turned the position. Adjutant-general Cohorn, whom we have seen crossing the Alb on the shoulders of a grenadier, rushed to the summit with a battalion, and dislodged the Austrians. Our troops were then in possession of all the heights that commanded the plain of Engen, and could deploy there without difficulty. The enemy retired to the other side of the plain, beyond the rivulet which runs through it, and to the foot of a chain of hills that form the opposite confine. He had drawn up in front his numerous cavalry, with great part of his artillery, and, in rear, in the hollow of a valley, at the entrance of which stands the little village of Ehingen, a strong reserve of grenadiers. Such was the imposing force still to be overthrown, ere the battle should be ours.

Meanwhile, a brisk fire was heard from beyond the peak of Hohenhewen, and a great distance beyond it, along that belt of wooded heights surrounding Engen. It was Richepanse's division, engaged with the troops to which M. de Kray had assigned this part of the field of battle. General Richepanse had been obliged to separate his division into two brigades, to take two positions, one called Leipferdingen, the other Waterdingen, at the very extremity of the valleys into which he had entered. There he maintained an obstinate action, alternately successful and repulsed, when, luckily for him, the vanguard of St. Cyr's corps began to make its appearance. These troops came very late, owing to a want of harmony in Moreau's dispositions. St. Cyr ought to have come to St. Suzanne's assistance with one of these divisions; he had been obliged to wait for Ney, who was delayed by the want of provisions, to wait even for his artillery, which had always been behind ever since the passage of the Rhine; he had, moreover, had incessant

encounters with prince Ferdinand during his march, and, having only one division out of three to oppose to him, he had been obliged to advance with care and caution. He came up at last to the assistance of Richepanse, at the moment when M. de Kray was making a last vigorous effort against the latter, to prevent him from debouching upon Engen.

Moreau, judging of the danger of Richepanse from the briskness of the fire, resolved to draw the Austrians upon their left, and, to this end, he thought fit to attack the village of Ehingen, which formed the support of their position on the other side of the plain. Here, as we have just seen, the enemy had posted, at the foot of a chain of hills, his artillery, his cavalry, besides a reserve of grenadiers, in a valley the entrance to which was formed by the village of Ehingen. General Bontemps proceeded thither with the 67th demi-brigade, two battalions of the 10th light, and two squadrons of the 5th hussars. General d'Hautpoul followed him, with the reserve of the cavalry. These troops, marching in columns in the plain, under the fire of a battery of twelve pieces of cannon, dashed bravely upon the village of Ehingen, and carried it. But, all at once, the eight battalions of grenadiers, in reserve, charged them in turn. The Austrian cavalry supported these eight battalions of grenadiers by a vigorous charge, and this unexpected storm obliged our soldiers to give up the village. The cavalry of general d'Hautpoul was driven back by the great mass of imperial cavalry. The brave general Bontemps received a severe wound amidst this confusion. At this moment, the firing on our left, beyond the peak of Hohenhewen, redoubled in violence, proclaiming the danger of Richepanse, who persisted, but thus far unsuccessfully, in the attempt to force the belt of heights.

Moreau, who, in trying emergencies, possessed the firmness of a truly martial spirit, instantly appreciated the gravity of this situation, and resolved upon a vigorous blow, that he might remain master of the field of battle. He caused the remnant of Bastoul's division to advance, placed himself at the head of a few companies of grenadiers, inflamed their courage, led them to the charge, overthrew all that came in his way, and restored Ehingen to our victorious troops. While he was deciding the day at that point, Richepanse, on his part, was performing prodigies of valour. St. Cyr, rejoined by Ney, and definitively delivered from the archduke Ferdinand, sent forward general Roussel's brigade. This brigade vied in courage with the troops of Richepanse which had been so long engaged, and assisted them to storm the heights so obstinately contended for. In all directions our arms were successful, but at the cost of great efforts and much bloodshed. The 4th demi-brigade alone had lost from 500 to 600 men in these conflicts.

Night began to fall; the ardour of the French was redoubled, while the courage of the Austrians sank, on learning the tidings

of the rout of the prince of Lorraine-Vaudemont at Stockach. M. de Kray, fearful of being turned by Stockach, gave orders for retreat. He hastened to regain the Danube by Tuttlingen and Liptingen.

The losses of the French army in this series of obstinate actions were very considerable. In killed and wounded it had 2000 men *hors de combat;* but the Austrian army had more than 3000, besides 4000 or 5000 prisoners remaining in our hands. The French troops, by their extraordinary bravery, had corrected the defects of the general plan. This plan, in fact, was far from perfect, and its weak points can now be appreciated. In the first place, it is easy to judge, from the results themselves, the inconvenience of having passed the Rhine at several points. Owing to this manner of operating, there were no more than three corps ready to march together; and even then the third, that of St. Cyr, had been paralysed by the necessity of giving the hand to the fourth, which was left behind. To this system of crossing at several points was also chargeable the delay of St. Cyr's artillery, which had contributed not a little to retard the assistance given to Richepanse. As for the battle itself, Moreau with 25,000 men, had been obliged to fight 40,000 at Engen, while Lecourbe, with 20,000, had only 12,000 to fight at Stockach, while St. Cyr was nearly unoccupied, or confined to the part of mere observation. The latter, accused of having arrived too late, affirmed that he had not received, during the day, a single aide-de-camp from the head-quarters. Never, or very rarely, will such things be seen on the fields of battle where the First Consul commanded. Still, a general must possess high merit to act as Moreau acted. Once in presence of danger, he had behaved with a calmness, a vigour, that never forsook him; and, seconded by the valour of the troops, he had, after all, won the victory, and acquired a decided superiority over the enemy.

He encamped with his army on the field of battle. If, on the following day, he had vigorously pushed M. de Kray, on the road from Stockach to the Danube, he would probably have thrown him into disorder. But Moreau had not ardour enough in his character, and was too sparing of his troops, to execute such rapid movements, which, no doubt, fatigue men at the moment, but, in reality, save their blood and their strength, by accelerating the results. The 4th of May (14th Floréal) was employed in rectifying the position of the army, and in marching slowly towards the Danube. St. Cyr marched by Tuttlingen, Moreau and Lecourbe by Mösskirch, keeping an eye continually upon their right, and upon the débouchés from the Vorarlberg, by which prince Reuss might have arrived.

M. de Kray was not yet resigned to the idea of giving up the ground without fighting. His army was already much disconcerted, and reduced, moreover, by nearly 10,000 men. It was

wrong in him to persist in exposing it to a new encounter with the French, before he had passed the Danube, and been joined by generals Kienmayer and Sztarray, who were on march from the banks of the Rhine through the Black Forest, at the same time as the French corps of St. Suzanne. He needed the shelter of a great river, the respite of a few days, and reinforcements, that the moral energy of the Austrian army might recover itself. The position of Mösskirch, which Moreau allowed him time to re-occupy, inspired M. de Kray with the imprudent but courageous resolution to give battle once more.

This position of Mösskirch is, in fact, very strong. The high road, which runs through Engen and Stockach to the Danube is exposed, a little before reaching Mösskirch, to the fire of a large and elevated plateau, called the plateau of Krumbach. It leaves it on the left, then enters a tract covered with wood, in which it forms a long defile. It afterwards debouches into open ground, at the extremity of which are seen the little town of Mösskirch on the right, and the village of Heudorf on the left. Behind Mösskirch runs a line of heights stretching continuously from Mösskirch to Heudorf; which latter place they also connect, in the rear and on the left, with the plateau of Krumbach: so that the road, passing first under the plateau of Krumbach, then burying itself in a wood, debouches at last uncovered, under the fire of the heights, extending from Mösskirch to Heudorf.

M. de Kray had crowned this position with a formidable artillery. The prince of Lorraine, forming the left of the Austrians, occupied Mösskirch and the surrounding heights. M. de Nauendorf, forming their centre, was deployed above Heudorf, with a reserve of grenadiers in his rear. M. de Wrede, with the Bavarians, the archduke Ferdinand, and general Giulay united, composed the right of the imperial army on the plateau of Krumbach.

Moreau did not calculate much more on a battle at Mösskirch than he had calculated upon one at Engen. Suspecting, however, that he might meet with some resistance at Mösskirch, he had apprised Lecourbe of it, and sent him word that an effort would probably be necessary at that point, without, however, giving him the precise orders for concentration, which comport with the imminence of a great battle. Lecourbe, keeping at the head of the army, and marching with three divisions, had thrown Vandamme's division to some distance on his right, to continue to observe the movements of prince Reuss towards the Vorarlberg. Part of this division, under general Molitor, was to direct itself by the Pfüllendorf and Klosterwald road, upon the flank of Mösskirch. Lecourbe, with Montrichard's and Lorges' divisions, and the reserve cavalry, was to advance by the high road which we have just described, and which, after passing beneath Krumbach, debouches through the woods, in front of Mösskirch. Moreau followed the same road, keeping at some

distance in the rear. St. Cyr flanked at a considerable distance the left of Moreau, occupying both banks of the Danube, towards Tuttlingen. These assuredly were not fitting dispositions for a great battle. Vandamme ought not to have been thrown alone, with half a division, upon the flank of the position of Mösskirch. Lecourbe ought to have been directed with his whole corps upon this quarter. Moreau should not have set out so late, nor have crowded himself into the same road as Lecourbe, and into the defile of a wood. Lastly, St. Cyr should not have been left at such a distance.

Be this as it may, Lecourbe moved forward in the morning, conformably with the dispositions adopted. When opposite to Krumbach, he left that plateau on his left, and entered the defile of the wood. Some advanced guards met with in this defile were speedily driven back. He arrived at the débouché. Here was seen the uncovered ground at the extremity of which Mösskirch is situated, bordered on all sides by heights crowned with the artillery of the Austrians. As soon as the heads of columns appeared, five pieces of artillery, firing in front from the side next to Mösskirch, twenty others firing in flank, from the side towards Heudorf, poured forth a shower of balls and grape-shot. Two battalions of light infantry posted themselves on the margin of the wood, and three regiments of cavalry, the 9th hussars, the 12th chasseurs, the 11th dragoons, pushed forward rapidly, to protect the establishment of our artillery. Under the fire of these twenty-five pieces, playing upon them in all directions, our squadrons were obliged to fall back. Fifteen pieces of cannon, which general Montrichard had endeavoured to oppose to the Austrian artillery, were partly dismounted. The light infantry itself was forced to take shelter in the woods. The Austrian cavalry attempted to charge us in its turn, but was vigorously repulsed. Still, as often as general Montrichard tried to debouch from the woods, a violent fire stopped his columns. It soon became evident that this was not the true point of attack for forcing Mösskirch; that, on the contrary, it was on the right, following the cross-road from Klosterwald, by which Vandamme was advancing. But the latter had not yet come up, on account of the distance that he had to march. Meanwhile, Lecourbe determined to make an attempt upon Heudorf, by filing on his left along the skirt of the woods. In spite of a violent fire of artillery and musketry, the 10th light entered the village of Heudorf: but it was repulsed by superior forces; and, while the cavalry was hastening to its support, the Austrian artillery, placed on the slope behind Heudorf, compelled it to make a retrograde movement. Thus, this second attempt to debouch on the left was not more successful than that which had been made to debouch directly upon Mösskirch.

Encouraged by our check, the Austrians were then disposed

to assume the offensive, and endeavoured to debouch from the village of Heudorf, upon Lorges' division. But this was taking too great a liberty with such brave troops. The 38th formed into column and marched forward, under a fire of grape-shot from eight pieces of cannon. It advanced with admirable coolness, and penetrated, with fixed bayonets, into Heudorf. On a steep, rising ground behind this village were woods, and in those woods dense masses of Austrian infantry. Superior forces rushed upon this gallant demi-brigade; overwhelmed by numbers, it fell back. The 67th came up to its assistance, and immediately rallied it. Both together again charged. The entire division hastened to the spot, carried the village, cleared those redoubtable heights, and made itself master of that woody retreat, from which the enemy had vomited upon us a terrific fire. While this severe combat was taking place on our left, around the village of Heudorf, Vandamme, on our right, debouched at last upon Mösskirch, at the head of Molitor's brigade. He drew it up skilfully for the attack, in spite of the Austrian infantry, which opened a destructive fire from the suburb of Mösskirch. This brave band charged with fury, and penetrated into Mösskirch, while two battalions turned the position by the heights. Montrichard, still ensconced in the woods, chose this movement for debouching on the open ground, which had at first been so fatal to us. He threw himself upon four columns, and that in the face of the artillery of the Austrians, already somewhat staggered by the sight of these simultaneous attacks. Montrichard's four columns came up, passed a ravine which runs along the foot of the heights, gained the plateau of Mösskirch, at the moment when Vandamme's troops, which had entered Mösskirch, began to debouch from it. The Austrians were everywhere put to flight. Their reserve, stationed a little in the rear, at Rohrdorf, would then have acted in its turn, but was kept in check by the united divisions of Vandamme and Montrichard.

We were now masters of the whole line from Mösskirch to Heudorf. But M. de Kray, detecting with great judgment the vulnerable point of our position, moved off part of his forces, in the direction of the plateau of Krumbach, on our left, whence he threatened our flank and our rear. Lorges' division, which occupied Heudorf, was in danger of being overpowered. The entire reserve of the Austrian grenadiers had assailed that unfortunate division, which, after taking and retaking Heudorf several times, was exhausted with fatigue. It could no longer withstand the fire of the artillery and the mass of Austrian infantry. Luckily Moreau, apprised by the violence of the cannonade, had hastened his march. At length, he arrived at the entrance of the wood with his corps, formed of Delmas', Bastoul's, and Richepanse's divisions. He lost no time in sending Delmas' division to the left upon Heudorf to

the assistance of Lorges' division. This brave detachment changed the aspect of things, drove back the Austrian grenadiers, and retook Heudorf, as well as the woods above it. But if we received reinforcements, so did M. de Kray too. His right, composed of the archduke Ferdinand and general Giulay, whom St. Cyr had followed, foot by foot, ever since the commencement of operations, but followed at too great a distance,—this right, rapidly brought upon the field of battle, was directed between Heudorf and Krumbach, upon the very flank of Delmas' division, and put it in danger of being surrounded. Part of the latter instantly faced about to the left. The 57th, which had earned in Italy the surname of the Terrible, formed in order of battle, and disputed the ground for more than an hour against the Austrian masses, under the fire of sixteen pieces of artillery, to which general Delmas could oppose no more than five, that were soon dismounted. This tremendous fire that heroic band endured without flinching, and kept the enemy in check. Moreau, hastening from one corps to another, to place or to support them, led Bastoul's division to the assistance of Delmas' division. He came up at the moment when the Austrians, unable to overthrow Delmas' division, were seeking to deprive it of the aid of Bastoul's division, by deploying on the plateau of Krumbach, in order to intercept our communications. They were already descending from that plateau, and had even reached our waggon train. Thus the battle, after commencing at Mösskirch, extended to Heudorf, and from Heudorf to Krumbach, embracing the entire angle of that vast position, and covering it with fire, and blood, and devastation. At this critical moment, Bastoul's division worthily supported the efforts of Delmas' division; but it was liable to be surrounded, if the enemy should succeed in descending from the plateau of Krumbach, and gaining possession of the high road by which our troops were arriving. Fortunately, Richepanse's division, brought up in time to the decisive point, formed in columns of attack, climbed the plateau of Krumbach under a destructive fire, and overwhelmed the archduke Ferdinand, who intended to overwhelm us. After this effort, M. de Kray had no force left to act against Richepanse, and was obliged to give the signal for retreat. From Krumbach to Heudorf, from Heudorf to Mösskirch, we were everywhere victorious.

At this moment, St. Cyr's corps was but a few leagues off, at Neuhausen-ob-Eke. If he had debouched, the Austrian army must have been destroyed, and, instead of an ordinary victory, we should have gained one of those splendid victories which put an end to a campaign. What fatal inaction, then, kept him useless, so near to the spot where he might have decided the issue of the war? This is a question which it is very difficult to resolve. St. Cyr alleged, on the following day, that no orders had been sent to him. Moreau replied that he had sent orders

by several aides-de-camp. St. Cyr rejoined that he was so near the place where the battle was fought, that, if a single officer had been dispatched to him, that officer must have infallibly arrived. Moreau's coterie insisted that St. Cyr, with a spite unworthy of a brother in arms, had purposely left his comrades to be crushed at Mösskirch, as he had done at Engen.

Thus, in military life as in civil life, men are jealous of, accuse, calumniate one another! Human passions are everywhere the same, and war, most assuredly, is not capable of cooling them, moderating them, and rendering them just. The truth is, that St. Cyr, discontented with the coterie which had gained possession of Moreau's ear, affected to confine himself to the command of his own corps, at the head of which he operated with extraordinary perfection; but he never made amends for oversights of the commander-in-chief, and waited, before acting, for orders which a lieutenant ought to be able to anticipate, especially when he hears the cannon. St. Cyr, in alleging the proximity, to prove that, if orders had been sent to him, he must have received them, accused himself; for this proximity rendered him inexcusable for not hastening, with one division at least, to the spot, where a tremendous cannonade indicated a violent conflict, and, perhaps, serious dangers. But whatever faults he committed upon this occasion were, ere long, to be redeemed by important services.

Both Austrians and French were exhausted at the close of this day. Amidst the confusion of battle, the number of dead and wounded is never accurately known. At Mösskirch, that number must have been great. Three thousand men of the French must have fallen, and nearly twice as many in the Austrian army. But the French army was full of confidence; it had won the field of battle, and purposed to quit it next day, and to follow up that series of actions, which, without having yet procured it any decisive results, nevertheless ensured to it an uninterrupted superiority over the enemy. The Austrian army, on the contrary, severely shaken, was not capable of keeping up such a contest long.

After the account which we have just given, every reader may easily conceive what censures have been passed upon the operations of Moreau.* He had marched upon a field of battle, without first reconnoitring it; he had directed too few troops upon the true point of attack, which was the road from Klosterwald to Mösskirch, debouching on the flank of that little town; he had set out late, had made all his corps, one after another, pass through a wood, from which it was impossible to debouch without losing a great many men; lastly, he had not brought St. Cyr upon the ground, where his presence would have been decisive. M. de Kray, on his part, after he had

* See *Mémoires de St. Cyr*, tom. vi. p. 215, *et seq.* Campaign 1800.

judiciously directed his effort upon the vulnerable point, upon our left, had committed the fault of suffering Mösskirch to be taken; but it must be said, in his justification, that his troops were far from equalling the French troops, in regard to intelligence and firmness. Besides, they began to lose confidence; and it was no longer easy to make them endure the sight and the attack of the French.

On the following day, the 6th of May (16th Floréal), M. de Kray hastened to get behind the Danube, in order to connect himself at last with that great line of operations. Now was the time for following him up, for rendering the passage of the river impossible, at least hazardous, for him. Moreau marched in line, his left to the Danube, quite close to the point where the Austrians were crossing, having it in his power to crush them, if he had suddenly wheeled to his left. St. Cyr formed, at the moment, the wing supported upon the Danube. Not having been engaged on the preceding day, he was in a state to act, and was desirous to act. He saw, with his own eyes, the imperial troops crowding, with a sort of precipitation, upon the point of Sigmaringen. The Danube, making a bend there, formed a promontory, on which the Austrian army had flocked together, in its anxiety to get to the other side of the river. St. Cyr, distinctly perceiving it, at the distance of short cannon-range, crowded into a space scarcely sufficient for a division, and so much startled at the sight of the French, that, before the mere brigade of Ney, it suspended its passage, drew up in order of battle, and covered itself with the fire of sixty pieces of cannon.—St. Cyr, seeing it thus accumulated and alarmed, felt sure he could drive it into the Danube by a single charge of his whole corps. He ordered forward a few pieces of cannon, every discharge of which swept away whole files, but which could not be expected to remain in battery before M. de Kray's sixty pieces of artillery. He hoped to draw the attention of Moreau by the report of this cannonade, and to bring him from the corps of reserve to the corps on the left. As he did not come, he sent an officer, to apprise him of the circumstances, and to obtain his order for attacking. But their union was at an end. It was believed by the officers of the staff, or they affected to believe, that St. Cyr wished again to move to the left, with a view to detach himself more, and to act alone. He was answered by an order to move to the right, to connect himself more closely than he was accustomed to do with the corps of reserve, which formed the centre of the army. This measure is indispensable, he was told, that the commander-in-chief may have it in his power to dispose of your troops in case of need.* The drift of this order plainly indicated the humour of the general-in-chief and of those around him. It was

* *St. Cyr*, tom. vi. p. 201.

evident that Moreau suffered himself to be engrossed by the command of a single corps, and that his weakness of character was giving birth to intestine divisions, mischievous in any place, but still more mischievous in armies than anywhere else.

M. de Kray could, therefore, flee without danger, and rally his army beyond the Danube. M. de Kienmayer rejoined him there with the troops arriving from the banks of the Rhine; and he was closely followed by M. de Sztarray.

Moreau's army had found vast magazines at Stockach and Donau-Eschingen: it was in want of nothing; it was inspirited by success and by the continual offensive which it had taken. On the 7th and 8th of May (17th and 18th Floréal), Moreau continued to march with his left to the Danube, presenting a line of battle still too extended, and frequently halting, to give St. Suzanne time to come up.

On the 9th (19th Floréal) Moreau, knowing that St. Suzanne who had come along the left bank of the Danube, was at length opposite to the army, left his head-quarters for a day, and crossed the Danube, to inspect the troops which had just arrived. These troops formed thenceforward his left wing, while St. Cyr became the centre, and the corps of reserve was really to be used as a reserve, conformably with its appellation.

According to all probability, M. de Kray, intent on resting his army, would keep beyond the Danube, and we might continue on the 9th to make a march in advance, without encountering the enemy. Moreau directed the right, that is to say, Lecourbe, to proceed on the 9th to between Wurzach and Ochsenhausen; the reserve to advance to Ochsenhausen itself; lastly, the centre, that is to say St. Cyr, to proceed beyond Biberach, the left in observation on the Danube. In this order the army advanced very near to the Iller, describing a line parallel to that tributary of the Danube. Moreau set out on the morning of the 9th, thinking to devote an entire day to the corps of St. Suzanne.

Now, M. de Kray had been induced to take a new and unexpected resolution, by the advice of a council of war, which had judged it prudent to save the immense magazines of Biberach, and not abandon them, like those of Engen and Stockach, to the French. He, therefore, crossed to the right bank of the Danube with his whole army, by Riedlingen, and posted himself in front and rear of Biberach. This place had already been the theatre of a battle gained in 1796 by Moreau, thanks more especially to St. Cyr. This field was again to witness the success of our troops, and of St. Cyr himself.

Biberach is situated in a valley overflowed by the Riess. This valley is so swampy that a man on horseback cannot attempt to pass through it without perishing, so that people are obliged to pass through Biberach itself, and over the little bridge contiguous to that small town. You penetrate into this valley by

following a sort of defile, formed between the heights, those of the Galgenberg on the one hand, those of Mittelbiberach on the other. On clearing this defile, Biberach suddenly appears in view. You cross the marsh of the Riess over the bridge adjoining to the town, and beyond that marsh, you perceive a superb position, called the Mettenberg, upon which an army well provided with artillery might make a firm stand. M. de Kray could not think of posting himself in advance of the defile, having so narrow an outlet for retreat; he could only place himself in rear of Biberach, beyond the Riess, on the Mettenberg itself. Neither could he leave Biberach uncovered. Accordingly, after stationing the bulk of his army on the position of the Mettenberg, he placed a corps of eight or ten battalions and a dozen squadrons in advance of the defile of Mittelbiberach, to retard the march of the French, and to give time for evacuating or destroying the greater part of his magazines.

This plan was perilous, especially with a demoralized army. St. Cyr having received orders to go and pass the night a little beyond Biberach, soon discovered the position which the Austrians had taken. He was deeply mortified at not having the commander-in-chief, or at least the chief of his staff, near him, that he might obtain suitable orders, and turn this meeting to account. Moreau was absent; general Dessoles was not there. If St. Cyr had had his forces together, he would not have hesitated to risk an attack with his corps alone: unfortunately, they were partly dispersed. Being obliged to observe the Danube on his left, he had devoted to this object the best of his divisions, that of Ney. He dispatched several officers in search of general Ney, but in consequence of the latter having followed the winding banks of the river, and owing also to the frightful state of the roads, it was not easy to reach him, or obtain any support from his division. To attack a mass of 60,000 men, at least, St. Cyr had but the two divisions of Tharreau and Baraguay d'Hilliers, with the reserve cavalry of general Sahuc attached to his corps. The demoralization of the enemy tempted him strongly, but the disproportion of strength made him hesitate, when, all at once, was heard the firing of general Richepanse, who, having orders to keep himself in communication with St. Cyr, and to cross the Riess by the bridge of Biberach, arrived at the same point by a cross-road, that of Reichenbach. St. Cyr, having at his disposal the fine division of Richepanse, and being enabled to fill the gap left in his corps by the absence of Ney, hesitated no longer. He thought that, if the detachment left in advance of Biberach were overthrown, the defeat of this corps of from 8000 to 10,000 men would be rather more serious than the defeat of a mere advanced guard, and that the courage of the enemy might be severely shaken by it. Accordingly, without so much as halting to dispose his troops for an attack, he gave orders to the eighteen battalions and

twenty-four squadrons, which he had at hand, to advance at quick step, and charge the 10,000 Austrians who barred the passage of the defile. Overthrown by this sudden shock, the Austrians rushed pell-mell to Biberach and into the valley of the Riess. It would have been easy to take almost all of them, but St. Cyr would not, fearing lest, if he allowed his soldiers to pursue them, he might not be able to rally his divisions, and make use of them in the principal operation. He contented himself with entering Biberach, establishing himself there, and ensuring the preservation of the magazines. Having strongly occupied that point, and provided a retreat for himself, let what might happen, he crossed the Riess. Richepanse had just arrived upon his right, by the Reichenbach road. Reinforced by this new division, St. Cyr crossed the Riess by the bridge of Biberach, and advanced himself to observe the position of the enemy. At this moment, the some odd thousand men, so suddenly thrown into the Riess, were ascending through the ranks of the Austrian army, which opened to let them pass, and at sight of him, it was easy to discover how much that army was alarmed. St. Cyr ordered forward a number of tirailleurs, who approached and bearded the enemy, without any of his tirailleurs making their appearance to throw them into the ravine. These detached soldiers were answered by general discharges, such as proceed from an affrighted body of men, striving to keep up their courage by making a noise. St. Cyr was, in an action, one of the ablest of the tacticians that have appeared among us. On perceiving the state of the Austrian army, he instantly decided what was to be done. He ordered Tharreau's and Baraguay's divisions to be drawn up in two columns, formed a third of Richepanse's division, and placed the cavalry *en échelons* on the wings. These arrangements made, he put all his columns in motion at once. They ascended the acclivities of the Mettenberg with unparalleled steadiness. The Austrians, at the sight of these soldiers climbing with such calmness a formidable position, and from which an army thrice their number might hurl them into the marshes of the Riess, were seized with astonishment and terror. M. de Kray ordered a retrograde movement; his soldiers did not execute it according to his intention, for, after a few volleys, they gave up the ground of the Mettenberg, and at length fled in disorder, leaving to St. Cyr's corps several thousand prisoners and immense magazines, which served to victual the French army for a long time. Night prevented the pursuit. In the midst of these events, Moreau arrived, and though there was a coolness between him and St. Cyr, yet the next day, in the presence of Carnot, minister of war, he testified to him his sense of high satisfaction. Moreau, separated at this moment from the mischievous friends by whom he was beset at head-quarters, could be just towards a lieutenant, who had fought and conquered without his presence and without his orders.

The French army was completely victorious; the Austrians

were no longer capable of making a stand, and it might now advance unopposed. M. de Kray had sent, one cannot comprehend why, a detachment to defend the magazines of Memmingen. Memmingen lay in Lecourbe's route. This place was occupied, the detachment routed, and the magazines were taken. This was the 10th of May (20th Floréal). On the 11th and 12th, M. de Kray retired definitively upon Ulm, and Moreau continued to march in an extended line nearly perpendicular to the Danube. On the 13th of May, he was beyond the Iller, without having encountered any serious resistance in the passage of that river. The right and the reserve were at Ungerhausen, Kellmüntz, Iller-Aicheim, and Illertissen. St. Cyr was placed at the conflux of the Iller and the Danube, *à cheval* upon the Iller, occupying the bridge of Unterkirchberg, and connecting himself with St. Suzanne, who was advancing along the left bank of the Danube. From the abbey of Wiblingen, where Ney's division was, and where St. Cyr had his head-quarters, the Austrian troops might be distinctly seen in the vast entrenched camp of Ulm.

The two armies had just been rejoined by all their detached corps. Marshal de Kray had recalled M. de Kienmayer to him in the preceding days, and afterwards M. de Sztarray. Moreau, having the corps of St. Suzanne at hand, was now in full force. Both armies had sustained losses; but those of the Austrians were far more considerable than ours. They were estimated at 30,000 men, in prisoners, dead, and wounded. On this point history is reduced to conjectures; for, on days of battle, generals always diminish their losses, and when they apply to their governments for reinforcements, they as constantly exaggerate the number of the dead, wounded, and sick. Thus one never knows with perfect accuracy the total of the soldiers really present under arms. M. de Kray, having taken the field with 110,000 or 115,000 men, composing the active army, and 35,000 or 40,000 in the fortresses, could now have had but 80,000 at most, and those worn out with fatigue, and completely demoralized.

The loss of the French army was estimated at 4000 killed, 6000 or 7000 wounded; some ill of fever, some prisoners; in all, 12,000 or 13,000 men, actually unfit for service, 4000 or 5000 of whom were likely to be again fit for service after a little rest. This calculation reduced Moreau's active force, for the moment, to 90,000 men, or rather less. But he would soon be obliged to part with a strong detachment, according to the agreement signed with general Berthier at the opening of the campaign. It was stipulated in this agreement that, as soon as M. de Kray was driven to the distance of eight or ten marches from the Lake of Constance, Lecourbe should fall back upon the Alps, to join the army of reserve. The position of Masséna urgently required the execution of this engagement; and it was not any silly desire to check Moreau amidst his successes which caused

Lecourbe's corps to be called off; but the most legitimate of reasons, that of saving Genoa and Liguria. The army of reserve, collected with such exertions, contained no more than 40,000 men belonging to troops inured to war: it certainly needed a reinforcement, to place it in a condition to attempt the extraordinary operation which it was about to undertake beyond the Alps.

The First Consul, impatient to act in the direction of Italy, wishing at the same time to avoid offending Moreau, and yet to ensure the execution of his orders, made choice of the minister of war himself, of Carnot, to carry to the head-quarters of the army of the Rhine the formal injunction to detach Lecourbe towards the St. Gothard. The letters which accompanied this order were full of cordiality, and irresistible in argument. The First Consul was well aware that it was not Lecourbe and 25,000 men who would be sent him; but if 15,000 or 16,000 only were sent, he should be satisfied.

Moreau received Carnot with chagrin; he, nevertheless, punctually executed the orders which that minister brought him. Carnot, like a good citizen, took pains to remove any feeling of dissatisfaction on the part of the weak-minded general, ever so easily deceived, and revived his confidence towards the First Consul, which detestable busy-bodies were striving to destroy.

Some historians, flatterers of Moreau, but flatterers only since 1815, have raised the detachment taken from the army of Germany to 25,000 men. Moreau himself, in his reply to the First Consul, did not estimate it at more than 17,800; and this number was exaggerated. Not more than from 15,000 to 16,000 soldiers marched into Switzerland to climb the St. Gothard. Moreau then had about 72,000 fighting men left, and soon afterwards 75,000, through the recovery of his sick and disabled.* It was more than were needed for beating 80,000 Austrians. M. de Kray had no more, in fact, and they were altogether dispirited, and incapable of standing the slightest serious encounter with the French.

In order that the enemy might remain ignorant of this diminution of his forces, Moreau determined not to alter the former distribution and positions of the army; but to take the 16,000 men whom he destined for the First Consul out of all the existing corps. Each of these corps furnished its contingent, and thus this reduction of strength was disguised in the best possible man-

* It is from Moreau's own correspondence that I extract these figures. All the calculations of that correspondence are exaggerated in Moreau's favour. He estimates the battalions retained by him at 650 men, and those belonging to the detachment sent to Italy at 700. The calculation cannot be correct; for, if he sent the corps just as they were, and the battalions were reduced to 650 in his army, they could not have been 700 in the corps which were detached from it.

ner. Moreau wished to keep Lecourbe, who, singly, was worth many thousand men. Lecourbe was left him, and the command of the detachment given to the brave general Lorges. Carnot returned to Paris, as soon as he had witnessed the departure of the troops destined to cross the St. Gothard.

This operation took place on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of May (21st, 22nd, and 23rd Floréal). The French army under Moreau numbered about 72,000 combatants, exclusively of the garrisons of the fortresses, the division of Helvetia, and what might be returned to it by the hospitals. It was, for the rest, of the same effective strength as before the arrival of St. Suzanne's corps, a strength which had been sufficient to make it invariably victorious.

M. de Kray had established himself at Ulm, where an entrenched camp had long been prepared for the purpose of affording a stronghold to the imperial troops. Of the two systems of defence which we have described, that which requires the retreating army to skirt the foot of the Alps, covering itself with all the tributaries of the Danube; or to keep *à cheval* upon that river, in order to manœuvre upon both banks; the second had been preferred by the Aulic Council, and was skilfully followed by M. de Kray. The first would be judicious, in case it were desirable to keep the two armies of Italy and Germany in permanent communication. It presents but little strength in its first stages; for the Iller, the Lech, the Isar, the Inn, become but successively obstacles of any consequence; and the last alone becomes a considerable obstacle, though not an invincible one, for there is none of that kind in war. But an army which, renouncing the communications with Italy, keeps to the Danube itself, having all the bridges at its disposal, destroying them successively as it retires, possessing the means of crossing from one bank to the other, while the enemy is fixed upon one only; able, if that enemy attempts to push on directly for Vienna, to follow him under shelter of the Danube, and throw itself upon his rear, to punish him for the first fault that he may commit; an army so placed is in the position generally regarded as the best for covering Austria.

M. de Kray, then, had posted himself at Ulm, where important works had been carrying on for his support. It is well known that, at this point, the left bank of the Danube, formed of the first acclivities of the mountains of Swabia, is always higher than the right bank. Ulm is at the foot of the heights of the left bank, on the Danube itself. Its walls had been repaired. A *tête de pont* had been constructed on the opposite bank. All the heights in the rear of Ulm, and particularly the Michelsberg, were covered with artillery. If the French approached by the right bank, the Austrian army, supporting one of its wings upon Ulm, the other upon the elevated convent of Elchingen, covered by the river, and sweeping with its fire the

low ground of the right bank, would be unassailable. If the French approached on the left bank, then the Austrian army had a position quite as secure. To form a correct idea of it, the reader should know that the position of Ulm is covered on the left bank by the river Blau, which descends from the mountains of Swabia, and throws itself into the Danube, quite close to Ulm, forming at the same time a deep ravine. If, then, the French crossed the Danube above Ulm, to attack by the left bank, the Austrian army would change position. Instead of facing the banks of the Danube, it would turn its back on it, and cover itself by the course of the Blau. It would have its left wing upon Ulm, its centre at the Michelsberg, its right wing at Lahr and Jungingen. It would be necessary to make several marches upon the left bank, to turn this new position, and then to abandon the right bank entirely, which might frustrate all the combinations of the campaign, by uncovering the route to the Alps. Such was the camp in which the exhausted soldiers of M. de Kray found shelter for a time.

St. Cyr was at the convent of Wiblingen. From the windows of that convent, he distinctly saw, even without telescope, the position of the Austrians. Full of confidence in the daring of the French, he offered, and several general officers along with him, to take the enemy's camp by main force. They answered for the success with their lives; and it must be confessed that if the audacity of some of them, such as Ney and Richepanse, might have excited mistrust, yet St. Cyr, the tactician, a man of cool, methodical, sure mind, deserved the highest confidence. But Moreau was too prudent to risk an attack of this kind, and to afford M. de Kray the chance of gaining a defensive battle. It is true that, if Moreau were successful, the Austrian army, thrown into the Danube, would be half destroyed, and the campaign finished. But if Moreau failed in his attack, he would be obliged to fall back; the campaign in Germany would be endangered; and, worse than all this, the decisive campaign in Italy would, perhaps, be rendered impracticable. Moreau acted in war, not grandly, but safely. He let those brave men who engaged to throw the Austrians into the river talk on, and refused to attempt an attack by main force. The war of manœuvres was the course then left. The French might cross to the left bank above Ulm, a movement which we have just described; but, in order to turn the Austrians in this position, they would be obliged to proceed so far on the left bank, that Switzerland would cease to be covered, and that the detachment sent towards the Alps would be compromised. By continuing on the right bank, they might descend the Danube to a good distance below Ulm, cross it out of reach of the Austrians, and make themselves masters of their position, by cutting them off from the Lower Danube. But, by descending the river, the rear of the army would be exposed, and the route to Switzerland again left

uncovered. Moreau, therefore, renounced all idea of dislodging M. de Kray by any of these means; and though, with troops such as his he might have hazarded any thing, yet he is not to be censured for such caution, and, above all, for being so scrupulous in pursuing the plan which most effectually covered the operations of the First Consul, his chief, but his rival.

He then resolved to adopt a manœuvre, which was the true one, namely, to march for Augsburg, that is to say, to abandon the course of the Danube, to cross its tributaries, and to demolish all the lines of defence of the Austrians by a direct march upon the heart of the empire. This manœuvre, seriously executed, would infallibly have induced M. de Kray to leave the Danube and his camp at Ulm, and drawn him after the French army. It was very bold, yet did not uncover the Alps, since it placed Moreau constantly at their foot. But there was no half course to take: he ought either to have remained inactive before Ulm, or to have advanced resolutely upon Augsburg and Munich, for a mere demonstration was not capable of deceiving M. de Kray, and could only expose the corps left in observation near Ulm. Moreau here committed a fault, which had well nigh produced serious consequences.

On the 13th, 14th, and 15th of May, he crossed the Iller. Leaving St. Suzanne by himself on the left bank of the Danube, and St. Cyr at the conflux of the Iller and the Danube, he pushed the corps of reserve upon the Guntz to Babenhausen, Lecourbe beyond the Guntz to Erkheim; and a corps of flankers to Kempten, on the route of the Tyrol. In this singular position, extending twenty leagues, touching Ulm on one side, threatening Augsburg on the other, he could not inspire M. de Kray with the slightest dread of a march upon Munich, and could at most but tempt him to throw himself *en masse* upon the corps of St. Suzanne, remaining alone on the left of the Danube. Had M. de Kray yielded to this last temptation, and employed his whole force, it would have been all over with St. Suzanne.

The orders issued on the 15th (25th Floréal) to St. Cyr, were executed on the morning of the 16th, when St. Suzanne was attacked at Erbach by a prodigious mass of cavalry. His right division, commanded by general Legrand, was at Erbach and Papelau, along the Danube; his left division, commanded by Souham, was at Blaubeuren, *à cheval* on the Blau; the reserve, under general Colaud, a little in the rear of the two divisions. The action commenced by a multitude of horse surrounding our columns on all sides. While our soldiers were charged by numerous squadrons, masses of infantry, sallying from Ulm and ascending the Danube, threatened us with a more serious attack. Two columns of infantry and cavalry advanced, the one upon Erbach, to attack and envelop the two brigades composing Legrand's division, the other on Papelau, to cut off

Legrand's division from Souham's division. General Legrand then made his troops perform a retrograde movement. They fell back slowly through the woods, and then had to debouch on the plateaux between Donaurieden and Ringingen. The troops executed this retreating movement with remarkable steadiness. They were several hours giving up a small tract of ground, halting every moment, forming in squares, and harassing with their terrible fire the cavalry which pursued them. Souham's division, attacked on both flanks, was obliged to execute a similar movement, and to concentrate itself upon Blaubeuren, behind the Blau, driving into the deep ravine formed by that river such of the Austrians as pressed them too closely.

It was Legrand's division that was in most danger, because it was placed near the Danube, and for this reason the enemy wished to overwhelm it, in order to intercept all the succours that might arrive from the other side of the river. The two brigades of which it was composed continued valiantly to defend themselves, till, at the moment when the infantry was retiring, and the light artillery replacing its pieces on the forepart of the carriages, to retire also, the enemy's cavalry, returning to the charge, dashed suddenly upon that unfortunate division. The brave adjutant-general, Levasseur, who had been dismounted in a charge, sprung upon a horse, galloped to the 10th regiment of cavalry, which was leaving the field of battle, brought it back to the enemy, charged the Austrian squadrons, ten times superior in number, and checked their progress. The artillery had time to carry off their guns, to take a position in the rear, and in its turn to protect the cavalry which had come to its rescue.

During this interval, general St. Suzanne had come up, with part of Colaud's division, to the assistance of Legrand's division. General Decaen, with the remainder, had gone to Blaubeuren, to succour Souham's division. The action was therefore renewed; but, in spite of this effort, it might terminate in a disastrous manner; for there was reason to fear that the Austrian army would fall *en masse* upon the corps of St. Suzanne. Fortunately, St. Cyr, posted on the other side of the Danube, did not leave his comrades to be routed this time, as he had been frequently accused of doing; he hastened up with all possible expedition. Hearing the cannonade on the left bank, he had sent off aides-de-camp after aides-de-camp, to bring his divisions from the banks of the Iller to the banks of the Danube. He had ordered no time to be lost, the advanced posts to fall back immediately, but the bulk of the troops to be dispatched at the instant, without waiting for those posts. A corps left behind was to collect them. As for himself, stationed on the bridge of Unterkirchberg, which is upon the Iller, as soon as a corps arrived, whether infantry, cavalry, or artillery, he sent

it with all speed towards the Danube, preferring a momentary disorder to loss of time. He had then repaired in person to the very bank of the Danube. The enemy, fearing lest St. Suzanne might be succoured, had destroyed all the bridges as high as Dischingen. Seeing St. Cyr endeavouring to find a ford or to repair a bridge, he had drawn up part of his troops along the left bank, to make head against those of St. Cyr, posted upon the right bank. He had, moreover, commenced a brisk cannonade, and St. Cyr had lost not a moment in replying to it. This combat with artillery, kept up from one side of the river to the other, excited in the Austrians who had sallied from Ulm some fears for their retreat, caused them to fall back, extricated St. Suzanne a little, and infused into the ranks of our unfortunate soldiers, who had for above twelve hours maintained a desperate conflict, the most lively joy and quite new ardour. They applied to St. Suzanne for permission to advance, which was granted them. All our divisions then moved at once; they drove back the Austrians under the cannon of Ulm; but, in traversing the field of battle, which they were overjoyed to recover, they found it strewed with our dead and wounded. For the rest, the loss of the Austrians was not less than ours. Fifteen thousand French had fought all day against 36,000 men, 12,000 of whom were cavalry. M. de Kray was present the whole time on the field of battle.

But for the bravery of the troops and the energy and talents of the generals, the fault which Moreau had committed would have been punished by the loss of our left wing. Moreau immediately repaired to that wing; and, as if his thoughts had been suddenly drawn to that quarter by mere accident, he resolved to make his whole army cross to the left bank of the river.

On the 17th (27th Floréal), leaving St. Suzanne to rest himself in the positions of the preceding day, he led back St. Cyr's corps between the Iller and the Danube. He pushed the reserve, which was under his own command, to Unterkirchberg on the Iller itself, and ordered Lecourbe to fall back between the Guntz and Weissenhorn. On the 18th, the army made a second movement towards its left; St. Suzanne was moved to beyond the Blau; St. Cyr to beyond the Danube; the reserve to Gocklingen, on the Danube itself, ready to cross the river. On the 19th, the manœuvre was still more decided; St. Suzanne had completely turned Ulm; he had his head-quarters at Urspring; St. Cyr was on both banks of the Blau, his head-quarters being at Blaubeuren; the reserve had passed the Danube between Erbach and the Blau; and Lecourbe was ready to cross that river.

Every thing seemed to denote an attack by main force on the entrenched camp of Ulm. In this new position, M. de Kray had his left at Ulm, his centre on the Blau, his right at

Elchingen. He had, therefore, his back to the Danube, and defended the reverse of the position of Ulm. Moreau, after he had made an attentive reconnaissance, disappointed the expectations of his lieutenants, who fancied that they discovered a serious plan in this movement upon his left, and who, moreover, were desirous of a bold attempt on the camp of the Austrians, because they considered success as infallible. St. Cyr again insisted, but he was not listened to. Moreau resolved to be gone, unwilling to risk an attack by main force along the Blau, equally unwilling entirely to turn the position by its left, for fear of uncovering Switzerland too much. He ordered the whole army to cross once more to the right bank. On the 20th of May and the following days, the army decamped, to the great vexation of the soldiers and of the generals, who reckoned upon an assault; and to the great astonishment of the Austrians, who were in dread of one.

These false movements were attended with the great disadvantage of somewhat raising the courage of the Austrian army, without, however, abating that of the French army, which it was difficult to shake, so conscious was it of its own superiority. Moreau might have attempted a movement which we have described above, and which, executed subsequently, obtained him a glorious triumph. This was to descend the Danube, to threaten M. de Kray with a passage below Ulm, and to oblige him to decamp, by making him uneasy about his line of communication. But Moreau was still fearful of uncovering the route to the Alps. He, therefore, had some thoughts of making a second demonstration upon Augsburg, to endeavour once more to deceive the Austrians, and to persuade them that, leaving Ulm behind him, he was marching definitively upon Bavaria, perhaps even upon Austria. On the 22nd of May (2nd Prairial), the whole French army had recrossed the Danube; Lecourbe, with the right wing, threatened Augsburg by Landsberg; and St. Suzanne, with the left wing, kept at some distance from the Danube, between Dellmensingen and Achstetten. That same day, the 22nd, prince Ferdinand, at the head of 12,000 men, half of them, at least, cavalry, with a view either to keep us near Ulm or to discover our intentions, made an attack on St. Suzanne, which was warmly repulsed. The troops behaved with their accustomed vigour, and general Decaen distinguished himself. On the following days, Moreau continued his movement. On the 27th of May (7th Prairial), Lecourbe, with equal boldness and intelligence, made himself master of the bridge of Landsberg on the Lech, and, on the 28th, entered Augsburg. M. de Kray was not to be shaken by this demonstration, and remained obstinately in Ulm. This, it must be confessed, was the best of his determinations, and that which did most honour to his firmness and his judgment.

From that moment, Moreau confined himself to a calculated

inaction. He rectified his position, and rendered it better. Instead of forming a long line, the extremity only of which touched the Danube, a position which exposed our left corps to unequal combats with the whole Austrian army, he executed a change of front, and, henceforward facing the Danube, he ranged himself parallel to that river, but at a considerable distance, his left supported upon the Iller, his right upon the Guntz, his rear-guard occupying Augsburg, and a corps of flankers observing the Tyrol. The French army thus formed a mass sufficiently dense to have nothing to fear from a separate attack on one of its wings, and could not incur any other risk but that of a general engagement, which all in our ranks wished for, because it would result in the utter ruin of the imperial army.

In this position, now irreproachable, it was Moreau's intention to await the issue of the campaign which the First Consul was at that moment undertaking beyond the Alps. His lieutenants strongly urged him to resume active operations; he persisted in replying that it would be imprudent to do more till he had news from Italy; that, if General Bonaparte succeeded in that part of the theatre of war, they should then try a decisive manœuvre against M. de Kray; that, if the French army was not successful beyond the Alps, they should be greatly embarrassed by the very progress which they should have made in Bavaria. The enterprise of General Bonaparte, of which Moreau was in the secret, had in it something extraordinary for a mind like his; it is not, therefore, surprising that he should have felt anxiety, and have determined not to advance farther, before he knew for certain how it fared with the army of reserve.

In consequence of this determination, Moreau had warm altercations with some of his lieutenants, especially with St. Cyr. The latter complained of the inaction to which they were confined, and more particularly of the partiality that prevailed in the distribution of rations to the different corps of the army. His, he said, was often without bread, while that of the commander-in-chief, beside which it was posted, wanted for nothing Not that there was any want of supplies since the capture of the enemy's magazines, but of the means of conveyance. St. Cyr had more than one altercation on this subject; he had evidently fallen out with the staff which was about Moreau, and this was, at bottom, the cause of those unfortunate misunderstandings. General Grenier had just arrived. St. Cyr wished Moreau to give that general the command of the army of reserve, that he might be able to release himself from prepossessions and partiality—inevitable consequences of commanding in person. Unluckily, Moreau would not do any thing of the kind: St. Cyr then retired, upon the pretext of health, and deprived the army of the ablest of its general officers. For the rest, St. Cyr was made to command himself, not to obey. General Suzanne re-

tired also, in consequence of similar misunderstandings. He was sent upon the Rhine, to form a corps destined to cover the rear of the army of Germany, and to check the force under baron d'Albini. General Grenier took the place of St. Cyr, and Richepanse that of St. Suzanne. Moreau, whose soldiers were well supplied with provisions, and who was strongly established in his new position, resolved to wait, and wrote to the First Consul in the following terms, which perfectly express his situation and his intentions:—

"Babenhausen, 7th Prairial, year VIII. (May 27th, 1800.)

"We are looking with impatience, citizen Consul, for tidings of your success. M. de Kray and I are fumbling here—he, to keep about Ulm—I, to make him leave the post.

"It would have been dangerous, particularly for you, if I had transferred the war to the left bank of the Danube. Our present position has forced the prince de Reuss to move off to the débouchés of the Tyrol, and to the sources of the Lech and the Iller; so that he cannot inconvenience you.

"Pray let me hear from you, and let me know how I can best serve you. . . . . .

"Should M. de Kray move forward, I shall again fall back to Memmingen; I shall make general Lecourbe join me there, and we shall fight. Should he march upon Augsburg, I shall march thither too; he will lose the support of Ulm, and then we shall see what is to be done to cover you.

"It would be more advantageous for us to operate upon the left bank of the Danube, and make Wurtemberg and Franconia contribute to our support; but that would not suit you, since the enemy might send detachments into Italy, while leaving us to ravage the territory of the empire.

"Be assured of my attachment.

(Signed) "MOREAU."

A month and two days had elapsed, and if Moreau had not obtained those prompt and decisive results which terminate a whole campaign at one blow, as he might have done by passing the Rhine at a single point, towards Schaffhausen, by throwing himself *en masse* upon the left of M. de Kray, and by fighting the battles of Engen and Mösskirch with his undivided force; or as he might likewise have done by throwing the Austrian army into the Danube at Sigmaringen, by dislodging it, by main force, from the camp at Ulm, or by obliging it to decamp by a serious manœuvre upon Augsburg; still he had fulfilled the essential condition of the plan of the campaign; he had passed the Rhine without accident, in the teeth of the Austrian army; he had fought two great battles with it, and, though the concentration of his forces had been very defective, he had gained those battles by his firmness and his superior

generalship in the hour of action; lastly, notwithstanding his *fumbling* before Ulm, he had shut up the Austrians around that place, and kept them blockaded there, cutting them off from the route to Bavaria and the Tyrol, and having it in his power to await himself, in a good position, the turn of events in Italy. If we do not find in him those superior, decided talents, which distinguish great captains, we find at least a prudent, calm mind, repairing, by its coolness, the faults of too confined an understanding and too irresolute a character; in a word, we find an excellent general, such as other nations would fain have possessed, and such as Europe had none to equal; for it was the lot of France, at that period,—of France, which already had general Bonaparte, to possess also Moreau, Kleber, Desaix, Masséna, St. Cyr, that is to say, the best second-rate generals; and be it borne in mind that she had already produced Dumouriez and Pichegru! Time of marvellous memory! which ought to inspire us with some confidence in ourselves, and prove to Europe that all our glory in the present century is not due to a single man, that it is not the result of that very rare chance which begets such geniuses as Hannibal, Cæsar, and Napoleon.

What might chiefly be alleged against Moreau was a want of vigour in command; his suffering himself to be surrounded, controlled, by a military *coterie*; his allowing misunderstandings to arise around him, depriving himself, in consequence, of his best officers, and not knowing how to correct, by force of character, a vicious organisation of the army, which disposed his lieutenants to part company, and to acts of bad military brotherhood. Moreau's chief fault, as we have said several times, as we shall too often have occasion to repeat, lay in his character. Would that there were a veil to conceal from our view, and capable of concealing from others, the sad sequel in after years! Would that there were nought to damp our admiration of the noble and warm exploits of that warrior, whose heart jealousy and exile have not yet estranged!

We must now transport ourselves to a different theatre, to witness also a very different spectacle. Providence, so rich in contrasts, will there exhibit to us a different mind, a different character, a different fortune, and, for the honour of our country, soldiers still the same, that is to say, still intelligent, devoted, and intrepid.

BOOK IV.

MARENGO.

Impatience of the First Consul for News from Germany—On receiving Intelligence of Moreau's Success, he resolves to set out for Italy—Extreme Distress of the Garrison of Genoa—Fortitude of Masséna—The First Consul hastens to his Relief and to execute the Plan of crossing the High Alps—Departure of the First Consul; his sham Visit to Dijon; his Arrival at Martigny, in the Valais—Choice of the St. Bernard for crossing the Great Chain—Means devised for forwarding the Artillery, the Ammunition, the Provisions, and the whole of the *Matériel*—Commencement of the Passage—Inexpressible Difficulties surmounted by the Enthusiasm of the Troops—Unexpected Obstacle of Fort de Bard—Surprise and Mortification of the Army at the Sight of that Fort, deemed at first impregnable—The Infantry and the Cavalry make a Circuit and avoid the Obstacle—The Artillery drawn on by Hand under the Fire of the Fort—Ivrea taken—The Army deploys on the Plains of Piedmont before the Austrians are aware of its Existence and its March—Simultaneous Passage of the St. Gothard by the Detachment from Germany—Plan of General Bonaparte, when once in Lombardy—He determines to proceed to Milan, to rally the Troops from Germany, and to envelop Melas—The long Illusions of Melas suddenly destroyed—Mortification of that old General—His Orders for evacuating the Banks of the Var and the Environs of Genoa—Last Extremities of Masséna—The absolute Impossibility of feeding the Soldiers and the Inhabitants of Genoa compels him to surrender—Honourable Capitulation—The Austrians, having taken Genoa, concentrate themselves in Piedmont—Importance of the Route from Alexandria to Piacenza—Eagerness of both Armies to occupy Piacenza—The French arrive there first—Position of La Stradella chosen by the First Consul for enveloping Melas—Halt of some Days in that Position—Conceiving that the Austrians have escaped him, the First Consul goes in quest of them, and falls in with them unexpectedly in the Plain of Marengo—Battle of Marengo, lost, and regained—Happy inspiration of Desaix, and his Death—Grief of the First Consul—Despair of the Austrians, and Convention of Alexandria, by which they give up Italy and all its Fortresses to the French Army—The First Consul is employed for some Days at Milan in settling the Affairs of Italy—Conclave at Venice, and Elevation of Pius VII. to the Papacy—Return of the First Consul to Paris—Enthusiasm excited by his Presence—Operations on the Danube—Passage of that River below Ulm—Victory of Hochstett—Moreau conquers all Bavaria as far as the Inn—Armistice in Germany as well as in Italy—Commencement of Negotiations for Peace—Arrival of M. St. Julien, sent by the Emperor of Germany to Paris—Fête of the 14th of July at the Invalides.

BOOK IV.

MARENGO.

THE First Consul was only waiting for news of the success of the army of the Rhine, to descend into the plains of Italy: for, unless Moreau were successful, he could not spare a detachment of his troops, and M. de Kray was not so completely separated from M. de Melas, as to render it safe to manœuvre with freedom on the rear of the latter. The First Consul, therefore, waited with extreme impatience, resolved to leave Paris and to take the command of the army of reserve, as soon as he should have certain and perfectly satisfactory intelligence concerning the operations of Moreau. Time pressed, in fact, for Masséna was reduced in Genoa to the most cruel extremities. We left him there, struggling against the whole force of the Austrians, with an army worn out with fatigue, and, in spite of its prodigious inferiority, daily inflicting on the enemy considerable losses. On the 10th of May, general Ott, having indulged in an indecorous bravado, and informed Masséna that he should fire his guns for a victory gained over general Suchet—a piece of news which was false, by the by—the illustrious defender of Genoa made an energetic reply to this bravado. He sallied from Genoa in two columns. The left, commanded by general Soult, ascended the Bisagno, and turned the Monte Ratti; the other, under Miollis, attacked the Monte Ratti in front. The Austrians, vigorously assailed, were thrown into the ravines, and lost that important position and 1500 prisoners. In the evening, Masséna returned triumphant to the city of Genoa; and, on the following morning, he wrote to general Ott, that he was firing his guns for his victory on the preceding day: an heroic revenge, and worthy of his noble soul!

But this was the last of his successes, for his debilitated soldiers could scarcely support the weight of their arms. On the 13th of May (23rd Floréal) this energetic officer, yielding to the advice of his generals, consented, almost in spite of himself, to an operation, the result of which was most disastrous. The object of this operation was to take the Monte Creto, an important position, which it would certainly have been most

desirable to wrest from the Austrians, because they would then have been removed to a considerable distance from Genoa: but, unfortunately, there was little chance of its success. Masséna, though he had the greatest confidence in his army, for he daily required and obtained of it the most strenuous efforts, did not think it capable of carrying a position, which the enemy would defend with all his forces. He would have preferred an expedition to Porto Fino, along the sea coast, to seize a considerable store of provisions, which he knew there was in that quarter. Contrary to his custom, however, he gave way to his lieutenants, and, on the morning of the 13th, marched upon the Monte Creto. The battle was at first extremely brilliant: unluckily, a terrible storm, which lasted some hours, broke the energies of our troops. The enemy had concentrated a large force on this point, and he drove back our soldiers, dying of hunger and fatigue, into the valleys. General Soult, making it a point of honour to succeed in an expedition which he had advised, rallied around him the third demi-brigade, led it back against the enemy, and might, perhaps, have triumphed, had not a ball, fracturing his leg, extended him on the field of battle. His men would have carried him off, but they had not time; and this general, who had zealously seconded Masséna during the whole siege, was left in the hands of the enemy.

The army returned much mortified to Genoa; but still it brought back some prisoners. During the engagement, a riot of women had taken place in the city. These wretched creatures, urged by want, ran through the streets ringing bells, and demanding bread. They were soon dispersed, and the French general was thenceforward almost wholly occupied in providing subsistence for the population of Genoa, which showed, in other respects, the noblest devotedness. There had been successively procured, as we have seen, corn for a fortnight at first, and afterwards for another fortnight. Subsequently, a vessel entering the harbour of Genoa unexpectedly, had brought enough for five days, so that supplies had been obtained for above a month. The place had been blockaded ever since the 5th of April, and these resources had lasted till the 10th of May. Seeing the store of provisions diminish, he had reduced the ration allowed daily to the people and to the army. Soup, made with herbs and a small quantity of meat still left in the city, was substituted for it. The wealthy inhabitants, indeed, found means to supply themselves, at a most exorbitant price, with victuals, which had escaped the search made by the police, for the purpose of applying them to the general use. Thus Masséna had occasion to trouble himself about the poor only, by whom the dearth was particularly felt. He had imposed a contribution on the opulent class for their benefit, and had thus won them to the side of the French. For the rest, the majority of the population, dreading the Austrians, and the political system of which they

were the champions, were determined to second Masséna by their resignation. Struck by the energy of his character, their obedience to him was equal to their admiration. Nevertheless, the oligarchic party, making tools of some famishing wretches, strove to annoy him by all possible contrivances. To overawe them, Masséna made his battalions bivouack in the principal places of the city, with lighted matches to their guns. But the bread upon which the people were still subsisting, and which was made of oats, beans, and all the sorts of grain that could be procured, was on the point of being exhausted: of meat, too, the city was likely to be destitute. On the 20th of May, there would be left only such articles as it was almost impossible to use for food. It was, therefore, urgent to raise the blockade of the place before the 20th of May, in order to prevent Masséna being made prisoner, with his whole army, and baron Melas, who would then have 30,000 men more at his disposal, from returning to Piedmont, to close the débouchés of the Alps.

The aide-de-camp Franceschi, charged to carry this intelligence to the government, and who had contrived, by means of address and audacity, to pass through the Austrians and the English, had communicated to the First Consul the deplorable state of the fortress of Genoa. In consequence, the First Consul redoubled his efforts to put the army of reserve in a condition to cross the Alps. It was on this account that he had sent Carnot to Germany, with a formal order of the Consuls, to send off the detachment destined to pass the St. Gothard. He himself, occupied day and night, corresponding with Berthier, who was organising the divisions of infantry and cavalry, with Gassendi and Marmont, who were organising the artillery, with Marescot, who was making reconnaissances along the whole line of the Alps, he urged them all with that persuasive ardour, which enabled him to lead the French from the banks of the Po to the banks of the Jordan, from the banks of the Jordan to those of the Danube and the Borysthenes. He was not to quit Paris himself till the last moment, unwilling to relinquish the political government of France, and to leave free scope to intriguers and plotters, any longer than he could possibly help. Meanwhile, the divisions which had set out from La Vendée, Bretagne, Paris, and the banks of the Rhone, were traversing the vast extent of the territory of the Republic, and their heads of columns already made their appearance in Switzerland. There were still at Dijon the depôts of the corps, besides some conscripts and some volunteers, sent to that city, to give currency in Europe to the opinion, that the army of Dijon was a mere fable, destined solely to frighten M. de Melas. Thus far all had proceeded according to wish; the illusion on the part of the Austrians was complete. The movements of troops that were making towards Switzerland, scarcely perceived, owing to

the dispersion of the corps, passed for reinforcements sent to the army in Germany.

At length, every thing being ready, the First Consul made his last arrangements. He received a message from the Senate, from the Tribunate, and from the Legislative Body, conveying to him the wishes of the nation that he might soon return *conqueror and peace-maker*. He replied with a studied solemnity. His answer was intended to concur with the articles of the *Moniteur* in proving that his journey, announced with so much parade, was, like the army of reserve, a feint, and nothing more. He charged Cambacérès, the Consul, to preside in his place over the Council of State, which at that time was, in some measure, the entire government. Lebrun, the Consul, was commissioned to supervise the administration of the finances. He said to each of them: "Be firm; if any event happens, be not uneasy. I will come back like lightning, to crush the audacious wretches who shall dare to lay hands upon the government." He particularly charged his brothers, who were attached to him by a more personal interest, to inform him of every thing, and to give him a signal to return, if his presence should become necessary. While he was ostentatiously publishing his departure, the Consuls and the ministers, on the contrary, were to tell the newsmongers, in confidence, that the First Consul was leaving Paris for a few days, and merely to review the troops ready to take the field.

For the rest, he set out full of hope and satisfaction. His army contained many conscripts, but it contained also, and in much greater number, soldiers inured to war, accustomed to conquer, commanded by officers trained in his school; he had, moreover, absolute confidence in the profound conception of his plan. According to the most recent intelligence, M. de Melas continued advancing into Liguria, half his forces against Genoa, half against the Var. On these tidings, the First Consul had not the least doubt of the success of his enterprise, nay, he already fixed, in his ardent imagination, the very point where he should meet and overwhelm the Austrian army. One day, before he set out, lying upon his maps, and placing upon them marks of different colours, to denote the position of the French and the Austrians, he said before his secretary, who listened with surprise and curiosity, "Poor M. de Melas! He will pass through Turin, fall back upon Alexandria. . . . I shall cross the Po, overtake him on the road to Piacenza, in the plains of the Scrivia, and I will beat him there, just there;" and, at these words, he laid down one of his marks at San Giuliano. The reader will presently be able to judge what an extraordinary vision of the future this was.

He left Paris on the morning of the 6th of May, before it was light, taking with him his aide-de-camp, Duroc, and his secre-

tary, M. de Bourrienne. On reaching Dijon, he reviewed the depôts, and the conscripts, who had been assembled there, but without *matériel*, without any of the accessories indispensable for an army ready to take the field. After this review, which was designed to confirm the spies still more in the belief that the army of Dijon was a pure invention, he proceeded to Geneva, and from Geneva to Lausanne, where all was really serious, where every thing that was done would tend to undeceive the incredulous, but would undeceive them too late for them to send off information that could still be useful to Vienna.

On the 13th of May, General Bonaparte reviewed part of his troops, and conferred with the officers whom he had appointed to meet him, for the purpose of giving him an account of what they had done, and of receiving his last orders. General Marescot, charged with the reconnaissance of the Alps, was the one whom he was most impatient to hear. On a comparison of all the passes, it was in favour of the St. Bernard that this officer of engineers decided; but he considered the operation as extremely difficult. "Difficult, granted; but is it possible?" replied the First Consul. "I think so," rejoined general Marescot, "but with extraordinary efforts." "Then, let us start," was the only answer of the First Consul.

It is time to explain the motives which decided him to choose the St. Bernard. The St. Gothard was reserved for the troops coming from Germany, and led by general Moncey. This passage was situated on their route, and was capable of furnishing subsistence for 15,000 men at most; for the valleys of Upper Switzerland were totally spoiled by the presence of the belligerent armies. There were left the passes of the Simplon, the Great St. Bernard, and Mont Cenis. These were not, as at the present day, crossed by high roads. It was necessary to dismount the carriages at the foot of the mountain, to forward them upon sledges, and to remount them on the other side. These passes presented all three nearly the same difficulties. Still, Mont Cenis, being more frequented, more beaten than the others, presented, perhaps, on that account, fewer material obstacles; but it debouched upon Turin, that is to say, in the midst of the Austrians, too near them, and was not sufficiently adapted to the plan for enveloping them. The Simplon, on the contrary, the most distant of all from the point of departure, presented the opposite inconveniences. It debouched, it is true, in the environs of Milan, in a rich country, far enough from the Austrians, and quite in their rear; but it presented one very great difficulty, namely, that of the distances. To get to it, in fact, it would have been necessary to ascend the whole length of the Valais with the *matériel* of the army, which would have required means of transport that we had not at our disposal. Amidst the arid and ice-covered valleys, which the troops would have to traverse, they would be obliged to carry

every thing with them, and it was not a matter of indifference to have a score leagues more to travel. In the case of the passage of the St. Bernard, on the contrary, there was no farther to go than the road from Villeneuve to Martigny, that is, from the extremity of the Lake of Geneva, the point where the means of navigation ceased, to the foot of the mountain. It was a very little distance across. Besides, the St. Bernard debouched in the valley of Aosta upon Ivrea, between the two roads of Turin and Milan, in a very favourable direction for enveloping the Austrians. Though more difficult, perhaps more dangerous, it deserved the preference, on account of the shortness of the passage.

The First Consul, therefore, decided to lead the principal mass of his forces over the St. Bernard itself. He took with him all that was best in the army of reserve, about 40,000 men, 35,000 infantry and artillery, 5000 cavalry. At the same time, wishing to draw off the attention of the Austrians, he conceived the idea of making some detachments, which could not be united with the bulk of the army, descend by other passes. Not far from the Great St. Bernard is the Little St. Bernard, which, from the heights of Savoy, debouches also in the valley of Aosta. The First Consul directed general Chabran, with the 70th demi-brigade, and some battalions of the East, full of conscripts, upon this pass. This division, numbering from 5000 to 6000 men, was to rejoin the principal column about Ivrea. Lastly, general Thurreau, who, with 4000 men, troops of Liguria, defended Mont Cenis, had orders to perform that passage, and to attempt to penetrate to Turin. Thus the French army was to descend from the Alps by four passes at once, the St. Gothard, the Great and Little St. Bernard, and Mont Cenis. The principal mass, 40,000 strong, acting in the centre of this semicircle, had the certainty of being joined by the 15,000 troops coming from Germany, as well as by the troops of general Chabran, and, perhaps, those of general Thurreau, which would compose a total force of about 65,000 men, and disconcert the enemy, not knowing, from the appearance of all these corps, towards which point to direct his resistance.

The points of passage being fixed upon, it was necessary to turn attention to the operation itself, which consisted in throwing 60,000 men, with their *matériel*, to the other side of the Alps, without beaten roads, across rocks and glaciers, at the most formidable season of the year, that of the melting of the snow. It is a very troublesome thing to have a park of artillery only to drag with you, for each piece of cannon requires several carriages after it, and, for sixty pieces of cannon, it would be necessary to have about 300; but, in those elevated valleys, some of them doomed to sterility by everlasting winter, others scarcely large enough to feed their scanty inhabitants, no

means of subsistence were to be found. Bread would have to be carried for the men, and even forage for the horses. The difficulty, therefore, was immense. From Geneva to Villeneuve all was easy, thanks to Lake Leman, and a navigation, equally commodious and rapid, of eighteen leagues. But from Villeneuve, the extreme point of the lake, to Ivrea, the débouché by which you enter the rich plain of Piedmont, you have forty-five leagues to travel, ten of them over the rocks and the glaciers of the great chain. The route to Martigny, and from Martigny to St. Pierre, was good for the carriages. There they would begin to ascend tracks covered with snow, scarcely more than two or three feet wide, bordered by precipices, liable, in the heat of the day, to be overwhelmed by frightful avalanches. In these tracks, they would have about ten leagues to march, ere they reached, on the other side of the St. Bernard, the village of St. Remy, in the valley of Aosta. There they would find a road passable for carriages, which led through Aosta, Chatillon, Bard, and Ivrea, into the plain of Piedmont. Of all these points, one only was mentioned as being capable of presenting any difficulty; this was that of Bard, where, it was said, there existed a fort, which some Italian officers had heard talked of, but which did not seem likely to offer any serious obstacle. They had, therefore, as we have just said, forty-five leagues to travel, carrying every thing with them, from the Lake of Geneva to the plains of Piedmont, and, of these forty-five leagues, ten without any roads passable for carriages.

The following were the dispositions devised by the First Consul for the conveyance of the *matériel*, and executed under the direction of the generals Marescot, Marmont, and Gassendi. Immense stores of corn, biscuit, and oats, had been sent by the Lake of Geneva to Villeneuve. General Bonaparte, knowing that, with money, the assistance of the robust mountaineers of the Alps might easily be obtained, had sent to the spot a considerable sum in hard cash. All the *chars-à-banc* of the country, all the mules, and all the peasants, had therefore been drawn, at a high price, to this point, but during the last days only. By these means, bread, biscuit, forage, wine, brandy, had been conveyed from Villeneuve to Martigny, and from Martigny to St. Pierre, at the foot of the mountain. A sufficient quantity of live cattle had been driven to the same place. The artillery, with its waggons, had been removed thither. A company of workmen, stationed at the foot of the col, at St. Pierre, was employed in dismounting the guns and taking the carriages to pieces, which pieces were marked with numbers, in order that they might be carried by mules. The guns themselves, separated from their carriages, were to be placed on sledges with low wheels, prepared at Auxonne. As for the ammunition of the infantry and artillery, there had been provided a multitude

of small chests, which might easily be placed upon mules and conveyed, like all the rest, by means of the beasts of burden of the country. A second company of workmen, provided with camp-forges, was to cross the mountain with the first division, to establish itself in the village of St. Remy, where the beaten road began again, to put the gun-carriages together, and to remount the pieces. Such was the enormous task that was undertaken. There had been added to the army a company of pontonniers, unprovided with materials requisite for forming bridges, but destined to employ such as could not fail to be obtained by conquest in Italy.

The First Consul had, moreover, taken care to gain the assistance of the monks residing in the *Hospice* of the Great St. Bernard. The whole world knows, that pious recluses, settled there for ages, live in these frightful solitudes, above the inhabited regions, for the purpose of saving travellers overtaken by bad weather, and sometimes buried in the snow. The First Consul had sent them, at the last moment, a sum of money, that they might collect a great quantity of bread, cheese, and wine. An hospital was prepared at St. Pierre, at the foot of the Col, and a second on the other side of the mountains at St. Remy. These two hospitals were to forward the wounded and the sick, if there were any, to larger hospitals established at Martigny and at Villeneuve.

All these arrangements being completed, the troops began to appear. General Bonaparte, established at Lausanne, inspected them all, spoke to them, animated them with the ardour that filled himself, and prepared them for the glorious enterprise, which History would place beside the great expedition of Hannibal. He had taken care to order two inspections, a first at Lausanne, a second at Villeneuve. There every infantry and cavalry soldier was to be inspected, and, by means of temporary magazines formed in each of those places, the men were furnished with such shoes, clothing, and arms, as they needed. The precaution was useful, for, notwithstanding all the pains that he had taken, the First Consul saw veterans arrive, whose clothes were worn out, and whose arms were unserviceable. He complained vehemently on this subject, and caused the omissions, arising from the hurry or the negligence of the agents, always inevitable to a certain degree, to be supplied. He had even carried his foresight to such an extent, as to cause saddlers' workshops to be placed at the foot of the Col, for repairing the harness of the artillery. He had himself written several letters on this subject, apparently so trivial; and we mention this circumstance, for the instruction of generals and the governments to whom the lives of men are entrusted, and who have frequently either the idleness or the vanity to neglect such details. Nothing, in fact, that can con-

tribute to the success of operations and to the safety of the soldiers, is beneath the genius or the rank of the officers who command.

The divisions marched *en échelon* from the Jura to the foot of the St. Bernard, to avoid confusion. The First Consul was at Martigny, in a convent of Bernardins. There he issued all orders, and was in constant correspondence with Paris, and with the other armies of the Republic. He received intelligence from Liguria, that M. de Melas, still swayed by the greatest illusions, was most zealously exerting himself to take Genoa, and to force the bridge of the Var. Satisfied on this important point, he at length gave orders for the passage. As for himself, he remained on this side of the St. Bernard, that he might correspond as long as possible with the government, and dispatch every thing himself across the mountains. Berthier, on the contrary, was to proceed to the other side of the St. Bernard, to receive the divisions and the *matériel*, which the First Consul was to send to him.

Lannes passed first, at the head of the advanced guard, in the night between the 14th and 15th of May (24th and 25th Floréal). He commanded six regiments of picked troops, perfectly armed, and which, under this fiery leader, sometimes insubordinate, but always so able and so valiant, gaily commenced this adventurous march. They set out between twelve o'clock and two in the morning, to gain the start of the moment when the heat of the sun, melting the snow, brings down mountains of ice upon the head of the rash travellers who venture into these frightful gorges. It took eight hours to reach the summit of the Col, on which the Hospice of St. Bernard is situated, and two hours only to descend to St. Remy: consequently, there was time to pass before the moment of the greatest danger. The soldiers surmounted with ardour the difficulties of this route. They were heavily laden, for they had been obliged to carry biscuit for several days, and along with the biscuit a great quantity of ball cartridges. They climbed those steep tracks, singing amidst the precipices, dreaming of the conquest of that Italy, where they had so often tasted the delights of victory, and having a noble presentiment of the immortal glory which they were about to acquire. The labour was not so great for the infantry as for the cavalry. These walked themselves, leading their horses by the bridle. There was no danger in ascending, but in the descent, the path, being very narrow, obliging them to walk before the horse, they were liable, if the animal made a false step, to be dragged by him into the abyss. Some accidents of this kind, not many, did actually happen, and some horses perished, but scarcely any of the men. Towards morning, they reached the Hospice, and there a surprise, provided by the First Consul, renewed the strength and the good humour of those brave troops. The

monks, having supplied themselves with the requisite provisions, had prepared tables, and served out a ration of bread, cheese, and wine, to every soldier. After resting for a moment, they resumed their march, and descended to St. Remy, without any unpleasant accident. Lannes immediately established himself on the back of the mountain, and made all the necessary dispositions for receiving the other divisions, and particularly the *matériel*.

One of the divisions of the army was to pass every day. The operation would, therefore, last several days, especially on account of the *matériel*, which it was requisite to forward with the divisions. While the troops were successively coming up, others fell to work. The provisions and ammunition were moved off first. For this part of the *matériel*, which might be divided, and placed on the backs of mules in small chests, the difficulty was not so great as for the rest. It consisted only in the insufficiency of the means of transport; for, notwithstanding the lavish expenditure of money, there were not so many mules as were required for the enormous weight that was to be carried to the other side of the St. Bernard. However, the provisions and ammunition, having crossed along with the divisions of the army, and with the assistance of the soldiers, the artillery at length demanded attention. The gun-carriages and the ammunition waggons had been taken to pieces, as we have said, and placed upon mules. The cannon themselves were still left, and their weight could not be reduced by the division of the load. With the twelve-pounders, in particular, and with the howitzers, the difficulty was greater than had been at first expected. The sledges upon wheels, constructed in the arsenals, could not be used. A method was contrived, tried immediately, and found to answer: this was, to split the trunks of fir trees in two, to hollow them out, to encase each piece of artillery within two of these half trunks, and to drag it thus covered, along the ravines. Owing to these precautions, no collision could damage it. Mules were harnessed to this singular load, and served to draw several pieces to the summit of the Col. But the descent was more difficult: that could only be effected by strength of arms, and by incurring infinite dangers, because it was necessary to keep hold of the piece, and, while holding, to prevent it from slipping down the precipices. Unfortunately, the mules began to be knocked up. The muleteers also, a great number of whom were required, were exhausted. It was then proposed to have recourse to other means. The peasants of the environs were offered so much as a thousand francs for every piece of cannon which they should agree to drag from St. Pierre to St. Remy. It took a hundred men to drag each, one day to get it up and another to get it down. Some hundreds of peasants came forward, and actually took several pieces of cannon across, under the direction of artillerymen. But

even the allurement of gain was not strong enough, to induce them to repeat the effort. All of them disappeared, and though officers were sent in quest of them, and made large offers to bring them back, these were of no avail, so that it was found necessary to ask the soldiers of the divisions to drag their artillery themselves. From such devoted soldiers, any thing might be obtained. To encourage them, they were promised the money which the disheartened peasants would not earn; but they refused it, saying that it was a point of honour for a body of troops to save their cannon, and they laid hold of the forsaken pieces. Parties of one hundred men, successively quitting the ranks, dragged them, each in its turn. The band played enlivening airs at difficult points of the passage, and encouraged them to surmount obstacles of so novel a nature. On reaching the summit of the mountain, they found refreshment prepared by the monks of St. Bernard; and they took some rest before they made greater and more perilous efforts in the descent. In this manner, Chambarlhac's and Monnier's divisions dragged their artillery themselves; and, as the advanced hour did not permit them to descend the same day, they chose rather to bivouac on the snow than to leave their cannon. Luckily, the weather was serene; so that they had not its inclemency to endure, in addition to the difficulties of the ground.

On the 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th of May, the divisions continued to cross, with the provisions, ammunition, and artillery. The First Consul, still quartered at Martigny, urged the forwarding of the *matériel;* Berthier, on the other side of the St. Bernard, received it, and had it repaired by the workmen. The First Consul, whose foresight was ever active, bethought him immediately of pushing Lannes, who already had his division collected, and some four-pounders ready to start, upon the débouché of the mountains, for the purpose of securing it. He ordered him to advance to Ivrea, and to take that town, with a view to make himself master of the entrance to the plain of Piedmont. Lannes marched, on the 16th and 17th of May, upon Aosta, where he found some Croats, who were driven into the bottom of the valley; he then proceeded towards the little town of Châtillon, where he arrived on the 18th. A battalion of the enemy, which happened to be there, was put to rout, and lost a good number of prisoners. Lannes then entered the valley, which, as the troops descended, gradually widened, and exhibited to the delighted eyes of our men habitations, trees, cultivated fields, all the forerunners, in short, of Italian fertility. These brave fellows marched gaily forward, when the valley, again contracting, presented a narrow gorge, closed by a fort bristling with cannon. This was the fort of Bard, already pointed out as an obstacle by several Italian officers, but as an obstacle that might be surmounted. The

officers of engineers attached to the advanced guard went forward, and, after a hasty reconnaissance, declared that the fort completely obstructed the road through the valley, and that it could not be passed without forcing this barrier, which seemed nearly insurmountable. This intelligence, circulated in the division, excited the most painful surprise. The nature of that unforeseen obstacle was this:—

The valley of Aosta is traversed by a river, which receives all the streams from the St. Bernard, and which, by the name of Dora Baltea, discharges itself into the Po. On approaching Bard the valley contracts; the road, running between the foot of the mountains and the bed of the river, becomes gradually narrower, and, at length, a rock, which seems to have fallen from the neighbouring heights into the middle of the valley, closes it almost completely. The river then runs on one side of the rock, the road on the other. This road, bordered by houses, composes the whole town of Bard. On the summit of the rock, a fort, impregnable from its position, though ill-constructed, sweeps with its fire, on the right, the course of the Dora Baltea, on the left, the long street which forms the very little town of Bard. Drawbridges closed the entry and the outlet of this single street. A garrison, not numerous, but well officered, occupied the fort.

Lannes, who was not a man to be daunted, immediately dispatched a few companies of grenadiers, who let down the drawbridges, and entered Bard, in spite of a very brisk fire. The commandant of Bard poured forth a shower of balls, chiefly howitzer, upon the unfortunate town; but, at length, he paused, out of consideration for the inhabitants. Lannes' division posted itself outside. It was evidently impossible for the *matériel* of an army to pass under the fire of the fort, which swept the road in all directions. Lannes immediately made his report to Berthier, who hastened to the spot, and perceived with horror how difficult the obstacle which had just revealed itself was to overcome. General Marescot was sent for; he examined the fort, and declared it to be almost impregnable, not on account of its construction, which was indifferent, but its position, which was completely detached. The steepness of the rock scarcely admitted of escalade; as for the walls, though they were not covered by any earthworks, they could not be battered in breach, because there were no means of establishing a battery suitably placed for reaching them. Still, it was possible, by dint of strength, to hoist upon the neighbouring heights a few pieces of small calibre. Berthier gave orders accordingly. The soldiers, who were made for arduous enterprises, laboured to get up two four-pounders, and even two eight-pounders. They at length succeeded in hoisting them up on the mountain of Albaredo, which commands the fort and rock of Bard; and a downward fire suddenly opened, excited some astonish-

ment in the garrison. Not disheartened, however, it replied, and dismounted one of our pieces, which was of too small calibre.

Marescot declared that there was no hope of taking the fort, and that they must think of some other way of overcoming the obstacle. Reconnaissances were made on the left, along the windings of the mountain of Albaredo, and at length there was found a path which, amidst many dangers—many more than the St. Bernard itself had presented—led to the high road of the valley, which rejoined below the fort, at St. Donaz. This path, though crossing a mountain of the second order, was at least as difficult to traverse as the St. Bernard; because it was frequented only by shepherds and their flocks. If it should be necessary to go through a second operation, like that which had just been executed, and pass this new Col by again dismounting and remounting of the artillery, and dragging it along with similar efforts, the strength of the army might prove inadequate, and this *matériel*, so often taken to pieces and put together, might likewise be rendered unfit for use. Berthier, in alarm, instantly issued counter-orders to the columns that were successively arriving, and caused the advance of the men and the *matériel* to be everywhere suspended, that the army might not come any further, lest it should at last have to turn back. In a moment, an alarm was spread upon the rear, and the troops imagined that they were stopped in this glorious enterprise. Berthier sent several couriers to the First Consul, to apprise him of this unexpected disappointment.

The latter was still at Martigny, purposing not to cross the St. Bernard till, with his own eyes, he had seen the last portions of the *matériel* dispatched. These tidings of an obstacle deemed insurmountable, gave him at first a kind of shock; but he soon recovered himself, and obstinately refused to entertain the idea of a retrograde movement. Nothing in the world could have induced him to submit to such an extremity. He thought that, if one of the highest mountains of the globe had not stopped him, a secondary rock would not be capable of baffling his courage and his genius. "They will take the fort," said he, "by a bold stroke: if it is not to be taken, it must be turned. Besides, provided the infantry and cavalry can pass with a few four-pounders, they will proceed to Ivrea, at the entrance of the plain, and there wait till the heavy artillery can follow them. If this heavy artillery cannot clear the obstacle that has presented itself; and if, to replace it, they must take that of the enemy, the French infantry is numerous and brave enough to fall upon the Austrian artillery, and to carry off their guns." Again he resorted to the study of his maps; he questioned a great number of Italian officers, and, learning from them that other roads led from Aosta to the surrounding valleys, he wrote letter after letter to Berthier, forbidding him to interrupt the

movement of the army, and indicated with astonishing precision the reconnaissances that ought to be made around the fort of Bard. Satisfied that no serious danger could arise, except from the arrival of a hostile corps to close the débouché of Ivrea, he enjoined Berthier to send Lannes on by the path of Albaredo, and to make him there take a strong position, covered from the Austrian artillery and cavalry. "Provided Lannes keep the door of the valley," added the First Consul, "no matter what may occur—at worst we can but lose a little time. We have a sufficient quantity of provisions to wait, and we shall gain our point at last, either by turning, or by overcoming the obstacle which stops us at this moment."

Having given these instructions to Berthier, he addressed his last orders to general Moncey, who was to debouch from the St. Gothard; to general Chabran, who, crossing the Little St. Bernard, would come right upon the fort of Bard; and he at length determined to cross the mountains himself. Before he set out, he received intelligence from the Var, that, on the 14th of May (24th Floréal), the baron de Melas was still at Nice. As it was now the 20th of May, it was not to be supposed that the Austrian general had hurried, in the space of six days, from Nice to Ivrea. He set out, therefore, to cross the Col, before daylight on the 20th. He was accompanied by Duroc, his aide-de-camp, and de Bourrienne, his secretary. Artists have delineated him crossing the Alpine heights mounted on a fiery steed. The plain truth is, that he ascended the St. Bernard in that gray surtout which he usually wore, upon a mule, led by a guide belonging to the country, evincing, even in the difficult passes, the abstraction of a mind occupied elsewhere, conversing with the officers scattered on the road, and then, at intervals, questioning the guide who attended him, making him relate the particulars of his life, his pleasures, his pains, like an idle traveller, who has nothing better to do. This guide, who was quite young, gave him a simple recital of the details of his obscure existence, and especially the vexation he felt, because, for want of a little money, he could not marry one of the girls of his valley. The First Consul, sometimes listening, sometimes questioning the passengers with whom the mountain was covered, arrived at the Hospice, where the worthy monks gave him a warm reception. No sooner had he alighted from his mule than he wrote a note which he handed to his guide, desiring him to be sure and deliver it to the quarter-master of the army, who had been left on the other side of the St. Bernard. In the evening, the young man, on returning to St. Pierre, learned with surprise what powerful traveller it was whom he had guided in the morning, and that general Bonaparte had ordered that a house and a piece of ground should be given to him immediately, and that he should be supplied, in short, with the means requisite for marrying and for realising all the dreams of

his modest ambition. This mountaineer died not long since, in his own country, the owner of land given to him by the ruler of the world. This singular act of beneficence, at a moment when his mind was engaged by such mighty interests, is worthy of attention. If there were nothing in it but a mere conqueror's caprice, dispensing at random good or evil, alternately overthrowing empires or rearing a cottage, it may be useful to record such caprices, if only to tempt the masters of the earth to imitation; but such an act reveals something more. The human soul, in those moments when it is filled with ardent desires, is disposed to kindness; it does good by way of meriting that which it is soliciting of Providence.

The First Consul halted for a short time with the monks, thanked them for their attentions to his army, and made them a magnificent present, for the relief of the poor and of travellers.

He descended rapidly, suffering himself, according to the custom of the country, to glide down upon the snow, and arrived the same evening at Etroubles. Next day, after paying some attention to the park of artillery and to the provisions, he set out for Aosta and Bard. Having ascertained that all he had been told was true, he resolved to send the infantry, the cavalry, and the four-pounders, by the path of Albaredo, which would be possible, if the path were repaired. All the troops were to go and take possession of the débouché of the mountains in advance of Ivrea, and the First Consul designed, meanwhile, to make some attempt on the fort, or at least find means to turn this obstacle, by making his artillery cross one of the neighbouring Cols. He ordered general Lecchi, at the head of the Italians, to ascend on the left, to penetrate by the Grassoney road into the valley of the Sesia, which terminates near the Simplon and Lake Maggiore.

The object of this movement was to keep the Simplon road open, to give the hand to a detachment that was descending by it, and to reconnoitre, in short, all the roads passable for wheel-carriages.

The First Consul, at the same time, directed his attention to the fort of Bard. The French were in possession of the only street composing the town, but could only pass through it under such a shower of balls that it would be scarcely possible to get through with artillery, though the distance was but two or three hundred fathoms. The commandant was summoned, but he replied with firmness, like a man fully sensible of the importance of the post entrusted to his courage. Force alone, then, could make us masters of the pass. The artillery which had been planted on the mountain of Albaredo produced no great effect; an escalade was attempted on the outer inclosure of the fort; but some brave grenadiers, and Dufour, an excellent officer, were uselessly wounded or killed. All the

while, the troops were proceeding along the path of Albaredo. Fifteen hundred labourers had done the most urgent repairs required by that path. In places where it was narrow, it had been widened by the removal of gravel from the sides; too rapid slopes had been diminished by cutting steps to prevent the feet from slipping; in other places, trunks of trees were thrown over ravines, which it would otherwise have been too difficult to cross, and used as bridges. The army advanced successively, man by man, the cavalry leading their horses by the bridle. The Austrian officer commanding the fort of Bard, seeing our troops filing in this manner, and mortified at not having it in his power to stop their march, sent word to M. de Melas, that he had witnessed the passage of a whole army, infantry and cavalry, without possessing the means of obstructing it, but he pledged his life that it would arrive without a single piece of cannon.

Meanwhile, our artillery made a remarkably bold attempt; this was, to pass with a piece beneath the very guns of the fort, under favour of the night. The enemy, unluckily warned by the noise, threw pot-grenadoes, which lighted the road as though it had been broad day, and enabled them to pour upon it a shower of projectiles. Out of thirteen artillerymen who had volunteered to draw that piece of cannon, seven were killed or wounded. This was sufficient to dishearten the bravest men; when an ingenious method, though withal a very dangerous one, was thought of. The street was covered with straw and dung; tow was fastened about the pieces, so as to prevent the slightest sound from the jar of those masses of metal upon their carriages; the horses were unharnessed, bold artillerymen, dragging them by main strength, ventured to pass under the batteries of the fort, along the street of Bard. This contrivance succeeded completely. The enemy, who fired from time to time, by way of precaution, hit some of our gunners; but very soon, in spite of this fire, all the heavy artillery was removed beyond the defile, and this formidable obstacle, which had given the First Consul more concern than the St. Bernard itself, was overcome. The artillery horses had taken the path of Albaredo.

While this bold operation was performing, Lannes, marching at the head of his infantry, carried, on the 22nd of May, the town of Ivrea, which had not been repaired since the wars of Louis XIV., and which, from a singular but tardy presentiment, the Austrian staff had just set about arming. The defences of Ivrea consisted in a citadel, detached from the body of the place, and in bastioned ramparts. The brave general Watrin, at the head of his division, attacked the citadel; Lannes himself advanced against the body of the place, and the soldiers took both by escalade. Five or six thousand Austrians, half of them cavalry, who were there, retired in the utmost haste.

Lannes made some prisoners, drove them out of the valley, and took up a position at the entrance of the plain of Piedmont, at the points designated by the First Consul. Some days later, and the town of Ivrea, defended by the Austrians, would have been not an insuperable obstacle, but a serious annoyance. Cannon and provisions were found there; Lannes completed its armament, and victualled it, so as to make it, in case of reverse, one of the supports of our line of retreat.

While these events were passing, general Chabran was descending with his division by the Little St. Bernard; and, as that division contained many conscripts recently incorporated, it was employed in the blockade of the fort of Bard, which would not hold out long, when it should see itself without resource, and the artillery beyond its reach, so that it could no longer stop its march. General Thurreau, at the head of a corps of 4000 men, carried the débouché of Susa, made 1500 prisoners, and took some cannon. He was obliged to halt at the entrance of the valley, between Suza and Bussolino. General Lecchi, with the Italians, turning the valley of the Sesia, repulsed de Rohan's division, took some hundreds of men from it, disengaged the débouché of the Simplon, and gave a hand to a detachment of the division left in Switzerland at the commencement of the campaign. Lastly, the corps of general Moncey, distributed *en échelon* over a great space in the valley of the St. Gothard, began to ascend the heights.

Thus the general movement of the army was effected upon all points, with complete success. It was time to leave the valley of Aosta. Lannes, always at the advanced-guard, quitted that valley on the 26th of May (6th Prairial), and no longer hesitated to show himself in the plain. The Austrian general, Haddick, was charged to watch this débouché of the Alps with some thousand infantry and his numerous cavalry. He was covered by a little river, the Chiusella, which falls into the Dora Baltea. A bridge served for crossing this stream. Lannes marched briskly thither with his infantry. A fire of artillery, sudden and well directed, received our battalions, but did not prevent them from advancing. The brave colonel Macon entered the bed of the river with his demi-brigade, crossed it above and below the bridge, and clambered up the opposite bank. The Austrian cavalry, commanded by general Palfy, then determined to charge this demi-brigade. The general fell dead, and his men were dispersed. The French, rejoined by the rest of Lannes' division, advanced, pursuing the enemy with their accustomed vivacity. General Haddick, taking advantage of the disorder of this pursuit, pushed on his squadrons at the most seasonable moment. The 6th light was obliged to halt; but the 22nd, formed in close column, repulsed by its fire alone this new charge of the Austrian cavalry. Some thousand horse then dashed forward at once to try a last effort

against our infantry. The 40th and 22nd demi-brigades, formed in square, sustained with extraordinary firmness this formidable shock. Three times they were charged, and three times the enemy's squadrons were foiled by their bayonets. General Haddick, finding himself unable to withstand the advanced guard of the French army, gave orders for retreating; and, after losing many men, killed or wounded, and some prisoners, he relinquished the plain of Piedmont to Lannes, and retired behind the Orco. Lannes continued his march, and, on the 28th of May (8th Prairial), proceeded towards Chivasso, on the bank of the Po. The Austrians, alarmed at this sudden invasion, hastened to evacuate Turin. Barks were descending the Po, laden with corn, rice, ammunition, and wounded. Lannes seized all these convoys. The abundance prepared by the Austrians for their army was soon to give delight to ours.

Thirteen days had elapsed, and the stupendous enterprise of the First Consul had completely succeeded. An army of 40,000 men, infantry, cavalry, artillery, had crossed, without beaten roads, the highest mountains in Europe, dragging by main strength its artillery over the snow, or pushing it under the murderous fire of a fort, and almost close to the muzzle of its guns. A division of 5000 men had descended the Little St. Bernard; another of 4000 had debouched by Mont Cenis; a detachment occupied the Simplon; lastly, a corps of 15,000 French, under general Moncey, was on the top of the St. Gothard. There were thus in all sixty and odd thousand soldiers about to enter Italy, still separated, it is true, from one another by considerable distances, but certain of soon rallying around a principal mass of 40,000 men, who were debouching by Ivrea, at the centre of the semicircle of the Alps. And this extraordinary march was not a whim of a general who, to turn an adversary, ran the risk of being turned himself. Master of the valley of Aosta, of the Simplon, and of the St. Gothard, general Bonaparte was certain that, if he lost a battle, he should have it in his power to return to the point from which he had set out; at the worst, he could only sacrifice some of his artillery, if he were closely pressed on his march. Having thenceforward nothing to conceal, he repaired in person to Chivasso, harangued the troops, congratulated them on their firmness before the Austrian cavalry, announced the important results which he foresaw, showed himself not only to his soldiers, but to the Italians, to the Austrians, that he might now scare, by his formidable presence, the enemy whom before he wished to lull into profound security.

What was baron de Melas about in the mean time? Made quite easy, by the cabinet of Vienna and by his own agents, respecting that fabulous army of reserve, this general continued the siege of Genoa, and the attack on the bridge of the Var. He had suffered considerable losses at these two points; but,

he persisted in believing that the assemblages made were but a rabble of conscripts, destined to fill the gaps in the ranks of the two armies of the Rhine and of Liguria. Intelligence, which reached him about the middle of May, gave him some uneasiness about his rear; nevertheless, he soon dismissed his apprehensions, and resumed the notion that the troops collected at Dijon were to march direct down the Saone and the Rhone, to join the corps of general Suchet on the Var. Instead of sending troops by the Col de Tende into Piedmont, he kept all his forces, under general Elsnitz, before the bridge of the Var. At length the French columns, debouching from all the valleys of the Alps at once, seen and described with the most complete certainty by general Wukassowich, roused him at last from his illusions, but still without entirely undeceiving him. He left general Ott with 30,000 men before Genoa, general Elsnitz with 20,000 before the bridge of the Var; the latter were to be reinforced by the troops of general St. Julien, which became disposable after the reduction of Savona; and he turned back, with a detachment of 10,000 men, across the Col de Tende, for Coni. On the 22nd of May, he reached the latter place. Till this moment, the Austrian general had conceived that the French troops which had been met with were only bodies of conscripts, employed to make a demonstration on his rear, to induce him to break up the siege of Genoa; and he could not yet think that it was general Bonaparte himself, at the head of a large army. But this last illusion of his speedily vanished. One of his officers, who was perfectly acquainted with the person of general Bonaparte, was sent to Chivasso, on the bank of the Po. This officer beheld with his own eyes the conqueror of Castiglione and Rivoli, and dispatched intelligence to that effect to his commander-in-chief, who, not till then, could estimate the whole extent of his danger; for it was not of an assemblage of conscripts, that the First Consul would have deigned to take the command. This was not all; it was doubted whether the French had cannon, but the report of their artillery had just been heard at the Chiusella. The estimable old general, who had displayed incontestable ability during the preceding campaign, was thenceforth a prey to the most cruel anxiety. Every day added to his alarm, for he soon learned that general Moncey's heads of columns were descending from the St. Gothard.

He was, in fact, in a situation peculiarly critical. Out of 120,000 men, he had lost at least 25,000 men before Genoa and the Var. Those which he had left were dispersed: general Ott, with 30,000 men, was before Genoa; general Elsnitz, with 25,000, before the bridge of the Var; general Kaim, charged to guard the débouchés of Susa and Pignerol with about 12,000 men, had lost Susa, and was retiring upon Turin: General Haddick, who, with nearly 9000, was to guard the valleys of Aosta and

the Sesia, had just fallen back before Lannes; general [redacted] sowich, who, with 10,000 men, was observing the val[redacted] Simplon and of the St. Gothard—what was to become of [redacted] before Moncey? Baron de Melas himself was at Turin, with a corps of 10,000 men, brought back from Nice. Was it not general Bonaparte's intention to sweep down amidst all these scattered corps, to beat them one after another, and to destroy them? Perhaps there would still have been time to take salutary resolutions, provided they had been planned and executed immediately; but the Austrian general lost some days in recovering himself, in coming to a definitive opinion respecting the plans of his adversary, in forming his own, and in making up his mind to the sacrifices that must attend a concentration of his forces; for he should be obliged to abandon at once the Var, perhaps Genoa, and certainly a great part of Piedmont.

While he was yet deliberating, general Bonaparte, on his part, had formed his determinations with his accustomed promptness and resolution. The determinations which he had to take were not less grave than those of his adversary. If the Austrians were scattered, so were the French; for they were descending by Mont Cenis, by the Great and Little St. Bernard, by the Simplon, and by the St. Gothard. It was necessary to unite them, then to cut off all retreat from baron de Melas; and, lastly, to raise the blockade of Masséna, who, at that moment, must be reduced to the last extremity.

When he had descended the St. Bernard, general Bonaparte had on his right Mont Cenis and Turin, on his left, the St. Gothard and Milan, and, fifty leagues before him, Genoa and Masséna. What course was he to take? To appuy on the right upon Mont Cenis, in order to call in the 4000 men under general Thurreau, would be of little advantage. He would thus run the risk of meeting immediately with M. de Melas, which, to be sure, would not be very dangerous, dispersed as his forces were; but, by appuying to the right, he should relinquish to him on the left the Milan or Piacenza road to retreat by. It was, indeed, not worth while to have made such great efforts to throw himself across the Alps upon the communications of the enemy, if, after having occupied them, he were to leave them open. To proceed straight forward, to cross the Po, to fly to Genoa, amidst dispersed corps of the Austrian army, neglecting general Thurreau on his right, general Moncey on his left, and endangering all his own communications, would not be wise, not worthy of the prudence which had combined all the parts of this plan with as much reflection as boldness. He knew not what assemblage of forces might be met with upon that route; he should sacrifice his line of retreat towards the Alps, by leaving to themselves generals Thurreau and Moncey, who would most probably be obliged to fall back on Mont Cenis and the St. Gothard. God knows after what adventures. It had been better

to succour Masséna direct by Toulon, Nice, and Genoa. From all these considerations, there was evidently left but one course to pursue; namely, to appuy to the left towards the St. Gothard and Milan, and to give the hand to general Moncey's 15,000 men. In that manner he should unite with himself the principal detachment of the army, which would raise its number to 60,000 fighting men; he should occupy the capital of Upper Italy; he should raise the people on the rear of the Austrians; he should take all their magazines; he should make himself master of the line of the Po, and of all the bridges over that great river; lastly, by putting himself in a condition to attack upon either bank, he should stop M. de Melas, by whichever route he should attempt to escape. It is true that, by this plan, the succour to be sent to Masséna would be delayed for eight or ten days, which was unfortunate. But general Bonaparte imagined that his presence in Italy would be sufficient to extricate the army of Liguria; for he believed that M. de Melas would lose no time in calling in to him the corps which were investing Genoa and the bridge of the Var. At any rate, generals Masséna and Suchet had accomplished the object assigned to them, by detaining M. de Melas on the Apennines, by fatiguing him, by exhausting him, but, above all, by preventing him from closing the débouchés of the Alps. The defender of Genoa, if he must succumb, would but consummate the long series of sacrifices imposed upon the noble and unfortunate army of Liguria, for the success of a vast combination.

Having formed his resolution, general Bonaparte made his arrangements with the utmost promptness, and directed his whole army upon the left bank of the Po. He called in his park of artillery, which had just been put in order; he enjoined Lannes to collect all the boats taken at Chivasso, to place them as if he was about to throw a bridge, and to cross into Piedmont. His intention was to deceive M. de Melas a second time in regard to his plans, and he was as successful as the first time. On seeing the movements ordered by general Bonaparte, M. de Melas, striving to flatter himself till the last moment, was fain to hope that the French had been able to cross the Alps in very small number only. He thought that general Bonaparte, as every thing induced him to suppose, had no other motive for crossing the Po, but to enter Turin, and to give the hand towards Mont Cenis to general Thurreau; he thought that he might keep him in check by breaking down all the bridges, and by disputing the passage of the Po with about 30,000 men. He conceived, therefore, a hope to defend himself in this line, without making the twofold sacrifice of the positions occupied on the Var and of the advantages gained before Genoa. In consequence, M. de Melas assembled general Haddick, who had returned from the valley of Aosta, general Kaim, posted at the débouché of Susa, the 10,000 men brought with him from

Nice, besides a fresh detachment drawn from the Var, amounting, when united, to 30,000 men; and, supposing that we had no more, he hoped with this force to dispute the river which separated the two armies.

The First Consul took no pains to destroy this new illusion of his adversary's, and, leaving him occupied towards Turin with this concentration of force, he all at once fell back upon Milan. Lannes, who was apparently destined to ascend the Po, in order to march from Chivasso upon Turin, on the contrary, suddenly descended it. He advanced by Crescentino and Trino upon Pavia, where the Imperialists had immense magazines of provisions, ammunition, artillery, and the most important of their communications, since it commanded the passage both of the Po and of the Tessino. Murat marched by Vercelli upon the point of Buffalora. The entire army followed this general movement upon Milan; it arrived on the 31st of May before the Tessino. That river is broad and deep. The French had no craft for crossing, and on the other side appeared a numerous cavalry belonging to the corps of Wukassowich, which was guarding the Simplon and that part of the débouchés of the Alps. Behind the Tessino runs the Naviglio Grande, a large canal, which crosses the country to Milan. This canal runs, for a certain distance, parallel to the course of the river, from which it branches off; it is, moreover, very near it. The enemy's cavalry, cooped up on a narrow slip of ground between the Tessino and the canal, was extremely cramped in its movements, and could scarcely use its force. Adjutant-general Girard took some craft, which the peasants of the environs had concealed near Galiate, and with which they were eager to furnish the army. He crossed with a small body of men, and fell upon the Austrian advanced guard. Successively reinforced by these barks, which kept going and returning, and supported by the fire of the artillery, he repulsed the cavalry, which durst not advance too far on ground so disadvantageous for it, and obliged it to recross the Naviglio Grande at a point called the bridge of Turbigo. Thus, at one blow, he cleared the Naviglio and the Tessino. But general Wukassowich came up with Laudon's brigade of infantry, and endeavoured to penetrate into the village of Turbigo. Girardin then had upon his hands four or five thousand infantry, while he had no more than a few hundred men to oppose to them. He kept his ground for several successive hours with great presence of mind and courage, and finally saved the bridge of Turbigo, the loss of which would have thrown the French on this side of the Naviglio Grande, and, perhaps, even the Tessino. While he was thus gallantly defending himself, general Monnier, who had found means to cross a little below, came to his assistance, and charging Laudon's troops, drove them from Turbigo. This line, which was to check the French army, was thus passed at the cost of a mere

advanced-guard action. Next day, the 1st of June (12th Prairial), Boudet's division crossed near Buffalora, and the whole army advanced upon Milan. Wukassowich, apprehensive of being caught between the main army, which was advancing in Lombardy, and Moncey's corps, which was descending the St. Gothard, retired precipitately, and ordered Dedovich's brigade, which was at the foot of the mountains, to fall back behind the Adda by Cassano. He himself went to seek refuge behind the Adda, by Milan and Lodi, after leaving a garrison of 2800 men in the citadel of Milan. There was now no obstacle to check the French army. It could enter the capital of Lombardy, which had groaned for above a year under the yoke of the Austrians. Thus far those unfortunate Italians had heard talk of nothing but the successes of M. de Melas and the distress of the French. The caricatures on the army of reserve had circulated in Milan, as well as in Vienna and London. They represented it as a crew of old men and boys, armed with bludgeons, mounted on asses, and having two blunderbusses for artillery. While derision, harmless enough, it is true, was thus poured forth upon the French Republic, the unfortunate Italians were the victims of the most cruel oppression. All the men in Lombardy most distinguished by fortune and talents were in prison or in exile, especially if they had taken any part in the affairs of the Cisalpine republic. It was remarkable enough that persecution had pressed less heavily upon the hot-headed patriots, upon those who corresponded with the French Jacobins, than upon the moderate men, whose example might be more contagious for the people. Excepting some very few creatures of the Austrian government, and some nobles belonging to the oligarchic party, all were sighing for the return of the French. But they durst scarcely hope for their return, especially when they saw the baron de Melas so far advanced into Liguria, so near taking Genoa and passing the Var, and the First Consul so occupied, at least apparently, with the dangers of invasion, which threatened France upon her frontiers of the Rhine. A report was even circulated among the people, that the general Bonaparte, so well known in Italy, had died in Egypt; that, a modern Pharaoh, he had been engulfed by the Red Sea; and that he whose name was then figuring in Paris was one of his brothers.

It is easy to conceive the surprise of the Italians, when, all at once, they were told that a French army had appeared at Ivrea, that it was even debouching beyond that town, that it was in march for the Tessino, lastly, that it had crossed that river. Let the reader figure to himself the agitation which prevailed in Milan, the affirmations, the contradictions, which succeeded each other for forty-eight hours; lastly, the joy which burst forth when the intelligence was confirmed by the appearance of general Bonaparte himself, marching with his staff at the head of the advanced-guard. On the 2nd of June (13th

Prairial), the entire population, thronging to meet the French army, recognised the illustrious general, whom they had so often seen within their walls, welcomed him with transports of enthusiasm, and received him as a saviour come down from heaven. The sentiments of the Italians, always so strong, so demonstrative, had broken forth with such force, because so many circumstances had never before concurred to render the joy of the people sudden and profound. The French general, on entering Milan, hastened to throw open the prisons, and to restore the government of the country to the friends of France. He gave a provisional administration to the Cisalpine republic, and composed this administration of the most respected men. Adhering, however, in Italy, to the system which he followed in France, he would not permit either violence or reaction; and, in replacing power in the hands of the Italians of his party, he did not allow them to exercise it against their countrymen of the opposite party.

After these first attentions paid to the affairs of the Milanese, he hastened to push his columns in all directions, to the lakes, to the Adda, to the Po, so as to spread the insurrection for the advantage of the French, to seize the enemy's magazines, to cut off his communications, and to bar all retreat against him. Thus far every thing had gone on most prosperously, for Lannes, directed upon Pavia, had entered that city on the 1st of June, and taken immense magazines. That general had found at Pavia the Austrian hospitals, considerable stores of corn, forage, ammunition, arms, above all 300 pieces of cannon, half of them field-pieces. He had procured there several bridge-equipages, which the companies of French pontonniers, who had come without *matériel*, were about to employ on the Po. Chabran's division, left before the fort of Bard, had taken it on the 1st of June, and found there eighteen pieces of cannon. General Chabran, after putting a garrison into it, as well as into Ivrea, proceeded to occupy the course of the Po, from the Dora Baltea to the Sesia. Lannes occupied from that point to Pavia. The corps of general Béthencourt, which had come from the Simplon, was posted before Arona, towards the point of Lake Maggiore. The Italian legion was dispatched, by Brescia, after the Austrians, who were retiring in the utmost haste. At the same time, Duhesme's and Loison's divisions were crossing the Adda, and proceeding to Lodi, Crema, and Pizzighittone. General Wukassowich, who no longer pretended to guard the Adda, retired behind the Mincio, under the guns of Mantua.

Nothing now impeded the march of general Moncey, excepting the difficulty of finding subsistence in the sterile valleys of Upper Switzerland. His first columns were just appearing, but it was necessary to wait a few days longer for the others, and this was the greatest inconvenience of the situation, for it behoved the First Consul to make haste, if he would not see

Genoa fall into the hands of the Austrians. General Bonaparte was now certain of uniting all his columns, with the exception of one—that was general Thurreau's, which was entrenched at the débouché of Mont Cenis, without being able to advance. For the rest, our army was strongly seated in the heart of the Milanese, having its retreat secured by Mont Cenis, the St. Bernard, the Simplon, and the St. Gothard, holding the Adda, the Tessino, the Po, living upon the magazines of the Austrians, cutting them off from all the routes, and capable of fighting a decisive battle with them, after which they would have no other resource, if they were beaten, but to lay down their arms. The surrender of Genoa, if it were to take place, would be an unfortunate circumstance—unfortunate in the first place, for the brave army which was defending it, unfortunate also because the Austrian besieging corps would not fail to reinforce general Melas, and would thus render the great battle that was to terminate the campaign more difficult. But, if general Bonaparte gained the victory, Genoa and Italy would be reconquered at one blow. He made, nevertheless, an especial point of saving Genoa; but he could not hope for the junction of Moncey's corps before the 5th or 6th of June, and he could not flatter himself that Genoa would hold out till then.

The baron de Melas, whom the last news had completely enlightened, and who saw his adversary, after entering Milan, giving the hand to all the columns in succession as they descended the Alps, now comprehended the vast plan projected against him. To add to his misfortune, he had received intelligence of the reverses of M. de Kray and his retreat upon Ulm. Abandoning, at length, the system of half-measures, he issued imperative orders to general Elsnitz to relinquish the bridge of the Var, and to general Ott to raise the siege of Genoa, and both of them to unite at Alexandria. This was just what general Bonaparte had hoped for the salvation of Genoa. But that noble and unfortunate army of Liguria was doomed to pay to the very last with its blood, with its sufferings, and finally with a mortifying surrender, for the triumphs of the army of reserve.

To the very last, Masséna maintained a noble countenance. "Before he will surrender," said the soldiers, "he will make us eat his very boots." The butchers' meat being consumed, they ate horse-flesh, and, when that too failed them, they fed upon the most loathsome animals. The wretched bread made of oats and beans was consumed also. Ever since the 23rd of May (3rd Prairial), Masséna had been collecting starch, linseed, and the cacao deposited in the warehouses of Genoa, and with these he had caused a bread to be made, which the soldiers could scarcely swallow, and which very few of them were able to digest. Almost all of them went to crowd the hospitals. The populace, having no other food but herb soup, experienced all the pangs of hunger. The streets were strewed with wretches

expiring from inanition, emaciated women exposing to public charity the infants whom they could no longer support. Another sight alarmed the city and the army: it was that of the numerous prisoners whom Masséna had taken, and to whom he had no food to give. He would not release them on parole, since he had seen those who had been thus liberated appear again in the enemy's ranks. He had, therefore, proposed to general Ott, and afterwards to admiral Keith, that they should furnish the provisions requisite for their daily consumption, giving his word of honour that nothing should be abstracted for the garrison. The word of such a man deserved to be depended on. But such was the inveteracy, that the enemy resolved to impose upon Masséna the charge of feeding the prisoners, even though they should have to suffer the most cruel privations. The hostile generals had, therefore, the barbarity to doom their soldiers to the severest pangs of hunger, in order to aggravate the dearth in Genoa by leaving there some thousand mouths more to feed. Masséna supplied the prisoners with the herb soup which he dealt out to the inhabitants. This was not nutritious enough for robust men, accustomed to abundance in the rich plains of Italy: they were always on the point of revolting, and, to cure them of all thoughts of that, he caused them to be confined in old hulls of ships, which were moored in the middle of the port, and on which a numerous artillery, constantly pointed, was ready to pour destruction. So frightful was the howling raised by these unfortunate men, that it harrowed the feelings of a population already so deeply affected by its own sufferings.

The number of our soldiers diminished daily: they were seen expiring in the streets, and so debilitated were they that it had been found expedient to permit them to sit down while mounting guard. The dispirited Genoese had ceased to do the duty of the national guard, fearing lest they should be compromised when, by and by, the Austrians should bring back the oligarchic party. From time to time, vague rumours announced that the despair of the inhabitants was about to burst forth; and, to prevent the explosion, battalions, with loaded cannon, occupied the principal places.

Masséna awed the people and the army by his impassible bearing. The respect inspired by that hero, eating the same execrable bread as the soldiers, living with them under the enemy's fire, and submitting not only to their physical sufferings, but to all the duties and anxieties of commander, with unshaken firmness, the respect which he inspired kept all quiet; he exercised, amidst desolated Genoa, the ascendency of a superior spirit.

A feeling of hope, nevertheless, still supported the besieged. Several of the general's aides-de-camp, after bold efforts, had passed through the blockading force, and brought some intelligence. Colonels Reille, Franceschi, Ortigoni, had passed, and

had learned, at one time, that the First Consul was setting out, at another, that he was crossing the Alps. One of them, Francesch, had left him descending the St. Bernard. But since the 20th of May no tidings of him had been received. Ten or twelve days passed in this situation appeared ages; and the officers asked themselves, with despair, how it could happen that, in ten days, general Bonaparte had not traversed the space which separates the Alps from the Apennines. "We know him well enough," said they, "to be certain that by this time he is either conqueror or conquered; if he does not arrive, he must have succumbed in this rash enterprise. Had he been able to debouch in Italy, he would already have grappled the Austrian general, and dragged him from the walls of Genoa." Others alleged, that general Bonaparte had considered the army of Liguria as a corps sacrificed to a great operation; that he had but one thing in view, that was, to detain baron de Melas on the Apennines, and, that object attained, he no longer concerned himself about raising the blockade of Genoa, but was marching to execute some mightier plan. "Well!" added the Genoese, and even our own soldiers, "we have been sacrificed to the glory of France; but, now the end is attained, is it intended that we should perish to the last man? If it were in fight, with arms in our hands, well and good! but of famine, of disease—'tis impossible! It is high time to surrender." Several soldiers, in their despair, proceeded so far as to break their muskets. At the same time, a plot of some men, irritated by suffering, was discovered. Masséna addressed to them an admirable proclamation, in which he reminded them of the duties of the soldier, which consist as much in enduring privations and hardships as in braving dangers; he pointed out to them the example of their officers, living upon the same food, and daily exposing themselves, at their head, to death or wounds. He told them that the First Consul was advancing with an army to deliver them; that, by capitulating to-day, they should lose in a moment the result of two months' efforts and devotedness. "A few days, perhaps a few hours longer," said he, "and you will be delivered, after having rendered eminent services to your country."

Accordingly, at every report, every sound towards the horizon, they imagined that they heard the cannon of general Bonaparte, and eagerly thronged to look out. One day, they persuaded themselves that cannon were firing at the Bocchetta; a mad joy burst forth on all sides; Masséna himself repaired to the ramparts. Vain illusion! It was the sound of a thunder-storm in the gorges of the Apennines. Again they sunk into the deepest dejection.

At length, on the 4th of June, there would be left but two ounces of that horrid bread, made of starch and cacao, to each man per day. The surrender of the place could be no longer deferred;

our unfortunate soldiers could not be reduced to such straits as to devour one another, and there was an inevitable term to resistance in the material impossibility to support life. Besides, the army was conscious that it had done all that could be expected of its courage. It felt thoroughly convinced that it no longer covered the Thermopylæ of France, but that it was made subservient to a manœuvre, which, at the moment, must have succeeded or miscarried. It began, in particular, to believe that the First Consul was more solicitous to extend his combinations than to afford it succour. Masséna shared this feeling, without avowing it; but he did not consider his task as completely accomplished till he had reached the last possible term of resistance. When the two miserable ounces of bread left to be dealt out to each man were consumed, he must surrender. He made up his mind to it, at least, with deep chagrin.

General Ott had sent a flag of truce, for the Austrians were as much pressed to bring the affair to a conclusion as the French. That general had, in fact, the most positive orders to raise the siege of Genoa, and to fall back upon Alexandria. The offers of the enemy, say some historians, ought to have enlightened Masséna. No doubt, he knew that if he stood out one or two days longer, he might, perhaps, be relieved; but he could not wait. "Give me," said he to the Genoese, "two days' provisions, one day's only, and I shall save you from the Austrian yoke; I shall save my army from the mortification of surrender."

At length, on the 3rd of June, Masséna was obliged to negotiate. The Austrians talked of capitulation; he rejected the idea in such a manner, that they refrained from recurring to it. He insisted that the army should retire freely, with arms and baggage, with colours flying, and at liberty to serve and fight as soon as it should have passed the lines of the besiegers; "if not," said he to the Austrian officers, sent with the flag of truce, "I will sally from Genoa, arms in hand. With 8000 famished soldiers, I will appear before your camp, and I will fight till I force my way through." They agreed to allow the garrison to depart, but required that he himself should remain prisoner, because they were afraid lest, with such a commander, the garrison, proceeding from Genoa to Savona, might join Suchet's troops, and attempt some formidable enterprise in the rear of baron de Melas. To allay the indignation of Masséna, they avowed the motive, so honourable to him, of this condition. He would not hear of it. They then insisted that the garrison should retire by sea, that it might not have time to join Suchet's corps. To all these propositions he returned his usual answer, that he would cut his way through. At length, they consented to let 8000 men depart by land, in other words, all those who could still support the weight of their arms. The

convalescents were to be successively embarked, and conveyed to the head-quarters of general Suchet. There would be left behind 4000 sick, whom the Austrians engaged to victual, to take care of, and to restore afterwards to the French army. General Miollis was to be left in command of them. Masséna made stipulations in favour of the Genoese; he required, as an express condition, that none of them should be molested for opinions manifested during our occupation, that persons and property should be rigidly respected. M. de Corvetto, an eminent Genoese, afterwards minister in France, had been admitted to these conferences, that he might be able to attest the efforts made in behalf of his countrymen. Masséna wished, moreover, that they should be permitted to retain the form of government which they then had, and for which they were indebted to the French Revolution. On this point the Austrian generals refused to enter into any engagement. "Well, then," said Masséna, "do as you please; but I declare to you that, before the fortnight's end, I will be back again in Genoa"—a prophetic declaration, to which M. de St. Julien made this noble and delicate reply: "You will find in this place, general, men whom you have taught how to defend it."

The definitive conference was held on the morning of the 4th of June, in a chapel at the bridge of Cornigliano. The article, stipulating that part of the army should be allowed to retire by land, gave rise to a last difficulty. But, Masséna leaving the Austrian generals no other alternative than to consent to what he desired, or to expect a desperate battle on the morrow, they yielded the point. It was stipulated that this convention of evacuation, from which the word capitulation was carefully banished, should be concluded that same evening. The enemy's officers, we may add, filled with admiration for the French general, paid him all possible attention and marks of respect.

Evening having arrived, he still hesitated to sign, even then hoping that he might be delivered. At length, when it was impossible to delay any longer without breaking his word, he affixed his signature. On the following day, our troops marched out, with general Gazan at their head, and found rations at the advanced posts. Masséna himself embarked, that he might reach the head-quarters of Suchet the more expeditiously. He left the port in a vessel carrying the tricoloured flag, and under the guns of the English squadron.

Thus ended that memorable siege, during which the French army had signalized itself by such eminent virtues and such eminent services. It had made more prisoners, and slain more enemies, than it numbered soldiers. With 15,000 men, it had taken or put *hors de combat* more than 18,000 Austrians. It had, above all, destroyed the confidence of the Austrian army, by compelling it to make incessant and extraordinary efforts.

But would the reader like to know at what cost this brave garrison of Genoa had held out so long? Out of 15,000 combatants, it had lost 3000 in fight; 4000 others were wounded, more or less severely; 8000 only were fit to rejoin the active army. Soult, the second in command, had fallen into the hands of the enemy, after having had his leg broken. Out of three generals of division, one, Marbot, died of epidemic disease; another, Gazan, was dangerously wounded. Out of six generals of brigade, four were wounded, Gardanne, Petitot, Fressinet, and d'Arnaud. Out of twelve adjutant-generals, six were wounded, one taken, one killed. Two officers of the staff were killed, seven taken, fourteen wounded. Eleven colonels, out of seventeen, were put *hors de combat*, or made prisoners. Three-fourths of the officers had met with the like fate. Thus we see that it was by setting an example of devotedness that the leaders of this brave army supported it amidst such cruel trials. In a word, it proved itself worthy of those who commanded it, and never did the French soldier display more fortitude and heroism. Honour, then, to the unfortunate bravery, which, by its unbounded steadfastness, contributed to the triumphs of that fortunate bravery, the exploits of which it is now our province to record!

While, urged to raise the siege of Genoa, general Ott was granting to Masséna the honourable conditions which we have just specified, general Elsnitz, recalled by the orders of the baron de Melas, abandoned the bridge of the Var. The attacks of the Austrians upon that bridge had been delayed, because their heavy artillery, conveyed by sea, had been long in coming. Various attempts had been successively made on the 22nd and the 27th of May; the last, in particular, was a real effort of despair, on the part of general Elsnitz, who was determined not to spare any exertion before he withdrew. These attacks were gallantly repulsed. General Elsnitz, convinced that there was no chance of success, then thought of recrossing the mountains. Suchet, forming a prompt and just conception of the intentions of the Austrian general, laid his plans so as to prevent him from executing his retreat in security. He clearly perceived that, by continuing to manœuvre by his left along the mountains, he should place the Austrians in a perilous situation, and should probably be enabled to take from them some detached corps. Now, outside the line of the Var, which had stayed the invasion, runs in a parallel direction the line of the Roya, the source of which is situated at the Col de Tende itself. If the French, proceeding beyond the Var, were to reach the sources of the Roya before the Austrians, they would oblige their adversaries to move along the crests of the Apennines, in quest of a pass through them. This correct conception of general Suchet, executed with vigour, was crowned with complete success. He began by dislodging general Gorupp from Ronciglione, continued

to march briskly by his left, on the shaken right of the Austrians, took successively the Col de Rauss, which affords a pass from the valley of the Var into that of the Roya, and the famous camp of Mille Fourches, and, master of the Col de Tende, he found himself, on the 1st of June, upon the line of retreat of general Elsnitz. General Gorupp, thrown in disorder on the Upper Roya, had still time to gain the Col de Tende, but left many dead and prisoners by the way. General Elsnitz, with the rest of his army, had no other course but to follow the maritime slope, as far as Oneglia, and to return by Pieve and St. Jacques into the valley of the Tanaro. He had to cross tremendous mountains, with soldiers already demoralized by this species of flight, and having at his heels a foe, who passed with joy from the defensive to the offensive. For five whole days, the Austrians were pursued without intermission, experiencing continual checks; and, at length, on the 6th of June, general Elsnitz, on his arrival at Ormea, numbered not so many as 10,000 men. On the 7th, he was at Ceva. General Gorupp had retired upon Coni, with a weak division. The loss sustained by the Austrian corps, since leaving the Var, was estimated at 10,000 men.

General Suchet, so long separated from Masséna, found him again, in proceeding along the coast, in the environs of Savona. The 12,000 French who had come from the Var, united with the 8000 from Genoa, composed a corps of 20,000 men, advantageously placed for falling upon the rear of M. de Melas. But Masséna had received, in landing, a very dangerous wound, which prevented him from mounting on horseback; the 8000 men whom he was leading were emaciated with fatigue; and, it must be confessed, all the defenders of Genoa harboured in their breasts a secret irritation against the First Consul, who was known to be triumphing at Milan, while the army of Liguria was reduced to the necessity of capitulating. Masséna was unwilling that general Suchet should run the risk of a descent into Italy, while in ignorance of the movements about to be made beyond the Alps by the two generals opposed to each other. The baron de Melas, rejoined by all his lieutenants, Haddick, Kaim, Elsnitz, and Ott, might be at the head of a formidable force, fall upon Suchet, and crush him before he went to meet general Bonaparte. Masséna permitted his lieutenant, Suchet, to cross the Apennines, to post himself in advance of Acqui, and ordered him to remain in that position, observing, harassing the Austrian army, and hanging over its head like the sword of Damocles. We shall see presently what further services the army of Liguria rendered by its mere presence on the summit of the Apennines.

Masséna thought that this brave army, in terminating by a threatening movement the memorable defence of Genoa, had done enough for the triumph of the First Consul, and that it could not do more without imprudence: this great captain was

right. He turned over the Austrians, exhausted, reduced by above one third, to general Bonaparte. Of the 70,000 men who had crossed the Apennines, there returned not more than 40,000, including the detachment brought back by M. de Melas to Turin. The 50,000 left in Lombardy were also much reduced, and, moreover, widely dispersed. Generals Haddick and Kaim, who guarded, the one the valley of Aosta, the other the valley of Susa, had sustained very considerable losses. General Wukassowich, thrown beyond the Mincio, and separated from his commander-in-chief by the French army which descended from the St. Bernard, was paralysed for the rest of the campaign. A corps of some thousand men had ventured into Tuscany. By immediately uniting generals Elsnitz and Ott, who were returning from the banks of the Var and from Genoa, with generals Haddick and Kaim, who were coming from the valleys of Aosta and Susa, M. de Melas might still form a mass of about 75,000 men. But it was requisite that he should leave garrisons in the fortresses of Piedmont and Liguria, such as Genoa, Savona, Gavi, Acqui, Coni, Turin, Alexandria, and Tortona; so that there would not be left him more than fifty and some odd thousand soldiers to place in line on a day of battle, supposing that he did not sacrifice too great a number to the guarding of the fortresses, and that the junction of his generals was effected without accident.

The situation of the Austrian generalissimo was, therefore, extremely critical, even after the reduction of Genoa. It was critical, not only on account of the dispersion and the diminution of his forces, but also on account of the route to be pursued, in order to get out of the cramped inclosure of Piedmont, in which general Bonaparte had confined him. He would be obliged, in fact, to recross the Po before the face of the French, and to regain, through Lombardy, which they occupied, the high road to Tyrol and to the Friule. The difficulty would be immense in presence of an adversary, who excelled, particularly in war, in the art of great movements.

M. de Melas had remained master of the upper Po, from its source to Valenza. It would be easy for him to cross that river at Turin, Chivasso, Casale, or Valenza, no matter which; but if he crossed at one of these points, he would fall upon the Tessino, which general Bonaparte occupied, and upon Milan, the centre of all the French forces. He had, therefore, but little chance of escape in that quarter. Still he would have this course left—to appuy on his right, to proceed towards the lower part of the Po, that is, march to Piacenza or Cremona, in order to gain the high road to Mantua. If he pursued this plan, Piacenza would become for both adversaries the capital point to occupy. For M. de Melas, it would be almost the only way to escape the Caudine Forks; for general Bonaparte, it would be the means of reaping the reward of his audacious march

across the Alps. If, in fact, the latter suffered the Austrians to escape, though he should have delivered Piedmont, this would be but a meagre result, in comparison with the perils which he had braved; he should even incur some ridicule in the eyes of Europe, attentive to this campaign; for his manœuvre, the intention of which was now manifest, would be baffled. Piacenza was, consequently, the key of Piedmont; it was indispensable, as well to him who wanted to get out of it, as for him who wished to shut up his adversary there.

From these considerations M. de Melas fixed upon two points for the concentration of his troops: Alexandria, for the troops which were in Upper Piedmont; Piacenza, for those which were about Genoa. He ordered generals Haddick and Kaim to march from Turin, by Asti, upon Alexandria; general Elsnitz, who had returned from the banks of the Var, to proceed thither by Ceva and Cherasco. These three corps, once united, were to move from Alexandria to Piacenza. He enjoined general Ott, returning from Genoa, to descend direct, by the Bocchetta and Tortona, upon Piacenza. A corps of infantry, relieved from all the incumbrances of an army, had orders to proceed thither still more directly by the route of Bobbio, which runs along the valley of the Trebbia. Lastly, general Oreilly, who was already around Alexandria with a strong detachment of cavalry, received instructions not to await the concentration of the troops from Upper Piedmont, but proceed to Piacenza at the utmost speed of his horses. The little corps hazarded in Tuscany likewise received instructions to repair thither, through the duchy of Parma, and by the road of Fiorenzuola. Thus, while the principal part of the Austrian army was concentrating itself upon Alexandria, for the purpose of thence marching to Piacenza, the corps nearest to Piacenza itself had orders to march thither in a direct line and instantaneously.

But it was doubtful whether it would be possible to anticipate general Bonaparte in so important an object. He had lost at Milan five or six days in waiting for the corps coming from the St. Gothard—most valuable time, since Genoa had fallen in that interval. But now that general Moncey, with the troops detached from Germany, had crossed the St. Gothard, he was not going to lose another minute. Placed on the route of the couriers despatched from Vienna to M. de Melas at Turin, and sent back by M. de Melas from Turin to Vienna, he was now initiated in all the plans of the imperial government. He had read, for example, the singular despatches, in which M. de Thugut, cheering up the Austrian general, recommended to him to be easy, and not suffer himself to be diverted from his object by the fable of the army of reserve; to possess himself as speedily as possible of Genoa and of the line of the Var, that he might be able to spare a detachment to reinforce the army of marshal de Kray, driven back upon Ulm. He had read also the des-

patches of M. de Melas, at first full of confidence, and very soon of anxiety and uneasiness. This satisfaction, however, was somewhat disturbed on the 8th of June, when he learned from this same correspondence that Masséna had been obliged to surrender Genoa on the 4th. This intelligence, it is true, made no change in his plan for the campaign; for, having determined to get upon the rear of the enemy, in order to envelop him, and to oblige him to lay down his arms, if he succeeded, Italy and the city of Genoa would be reconquered at one blow. The really serious inconvenience resulting from the reduction of Genoa was, that he should have on his hands the disposable troops of general Ott. But the intercepted despatch brought consolation with it; for this despatch said that Masséna's soldiers were not prisoners of war. If, therefore, on the one hand, a more considerable Austrian force was about to descend from the Apennines; on the other, French troops, which he could not reckon upon at first, were to descend from the Apennines, at the heels of the Austrian troops.

The First Consul, now that Genoa had opened its gates, was in less hurry to meet M. de Melas. But it was most urgent for him to occupy the line of the Po, from Pavia to Piacenza and Cremona; and he made dispositions quite as active as those of M. de Melas, to possess himself of such important points, and especially of Piacenza. While he was occupied at Milan in collecting the troops which had come from the different points of the Alps, he marched the troops which had come with him by the St. Bernard upon the Po. Lannes had already taken possession of Pavia with Watrin's division. This general was directed to cross the Po a little below its junction with the Tessino; that is to say, at Belgiojoso. Murat, with Boudet's and Monnier's divisions, had orders to cross it at Piacenza; Duhesme, with Loison's division, at Cremona.

On the 6th of June, Lannes, having collected at Pavia, in the Tessino, all the disposable craft, took them into the Po, and, on arriving between Belgiojoso and San Cipriano, set about crossing. General Watrin, who was placed under his command, crossed the river with a detachment. No sooner had he reached the right bank, than he was attacked by the troops which had come from Valenza and Alexandria, and were hastening to Piacenza. He was in danger of being thrown into the river; but general Watrin stood firm, till the boats going and returning had brought him reinforcements, and he was finally left master of the ground. The remainder of Watrin's division, led by Lannes, then passed over, and took a position a little farther on, threatening the high road from Alexandria to Piacenza.

The same day Murat arrived before Piacenza. The Austrian commissariat was established in that town, with some hundreds of men to guard the stores. On the approach of the danger, the Austrian officer ordered cannon to be planted at the *tête du pont* of

Piacenza, situated on the left bank of the Po, and endeavoured to defend himself there, till the corps, which were advancing on all sides, should have come to his aid. The advanced guard of Monnier's division, conceiving that it was approaching an undefended position, was received with a tremendous discharge of grape-shot, and could make no impression on it by attacking in front. It was therefore determined to wait till next day to make a regular attack.

On the following day, the 7th, general Oreilly, who had received orders from M. de Melas to ride with all speed to Piacenza, arrived there with his cavalry. The other Austrian corps, that which was ascending from Parma by Fiorenzuola, that which was descending with general Gottesheim by Bobbio, and that coming with general Ott by Tortona, had not yet arrived. General Oreilly alone, with his squadrons, could scarcely be equal to the defence of Piacenza. The few hundred men, who had attempted to resist at the *tête du pont*, had lost one-fourth of their number. In this situation the Austrian commandant ordered all the artillery to be taken away, and the bridge of Piacenza, formed of boats, to be cut; and when general Boudet hastened up to repair the check of the preceding day, he found the *tête du pont* evacuated, and the bridge itself destroyed. But part of the boats employed in its construction were still left. Murat took possession of them, and caused Monnier's brigade to be conveyed to the other side of the Po by successive trips, a little lower down, at Nocetto. This brigade fell upon Piacenza, and penetrated into it, after a very warm contest. General Oreilly hastily fell back, that he might be in time to save the park of artillery coming from Alexandria, and which would be in danger of falling into the hands of the French, if it appeared before Piacenza. He retreated, in fact, with such expedition as to prevent that park from falling into the hands either of Murat or of Lannes. He had to make more than one charge of cavalry against the advanced troops of Lannes, which had crossed the Po at Belgiojoso; but he disengaged himself, and had time to issue counter-orders to the park, which shut itself up in Tortona. While general Oreilly, passing almost scathless through our advanced posts, was returning to Alexandria, the advanced guard of the infantry of general Gottesheim, which had descended along the Trebbia, by Bobbio, appeared before Piacenza. It was Klebeck's regiment, which had thus come upon Boudet's entire division, and got cut to pieces. This unfortunate regiment, assailed by superior forces, lost a great number of prisoners, and fell back in disorder upon Gottesheim's principal corps, which it preceded. General Gottesheim, alarmed at this rencontre, reascended in all haste the slope of the Apennines, to return across the mountains to Tortona and Alexandria, which caused him to lose his way, and wander about for several successive days. Lastly, the regiment returning from

Tuscany, by the route of Parma and Fiorenzuola, arrived the same day before the suburbs of Piacenza. The consequence was a fresh rout of that detached corps, which, falling unawares into the midst of an enemy's army, was thrown back in disorder upon the Parma road. Thus, out of the four corps marching upon Piacenza, three—the least important, it is true—had been overthrown and fled, leaving prisoners behind them. The fourth and most considerable, that of general Ott, having a longer circuit to make, was still behind, and was soon to fall in with Lannes, in advance of Belgiojoso. From this moment the French were masters of the Po, and had in their possession the two principal passages, that of Belgiojoso, near Pavia, and that of Piacenza itself. They soon occupied a third; for, on the following day, general Duhesme, at the head of Loison's division, took Cremona from a detachment which general Wukassowich had left in that city when he retired. He took there a great quantity of *matériel* and 2000 prisoners.

General Bonaparte directed all these operations from Milan. He had sent Berthier to the bank of the Po, and, day by day frequently hour by hour, prescribed, in an incessant correspondence, the movements that were to be executed.

Though, by possessing himself of the Po from Pavia to Piacenza, he was master of the line of retreat which M. de Melas might be expected to attempt to follow, yet other points claimed consideration: for what rendered the route of Piacenza the real line of retreat for the Austrians was the presence of the French behind the Tessino and about Milan. The French, in fact, in this position closed the passage which the Austrians would have had it in their power to open by crossing the Po between Turin and Valenza; but if now, for the purpose of going to meet M. de Melas, the French were to cross the Po between Pavia and Piacenza, and thus to abandon Milan and to weaken the Tessino they might again hold out to M. de Melas a temptation to cross either at Turin, or at Casale, or at Valenza, to harass our uncovered rear, enter the city of Milan itself, and to serve us nearly as we had served him in descending from the Alps.

Neither was it impossible that M. de Melas, sacrificing part of his baggage and of his heavy artillery, which, besides, he could leave in the fortresses of Piedmont, might retire upon Genoa, then, ascending again by Tortona and Novi, as far as the Bocchetta, and there striking into the valley of the Trebbia, might contrive to reach the Po, below Piacenza, in the environs of Cremona or Parma, and succeed in gaining Mantua and the Austrian States by this out of the way route. This march across Liguria and along the back of the Apennines, the same that had recently been prescribed to general Gottesheim, was the least probable, for it presented great difficulties, and would occasion the sacrifice of part of the *matériel*; but it was strictly possible, and it was necessary to provide against it as well as the others.

The whole attention of general Bonaparte was now engrossed in securing himself against these various contingencies; and history furnishes perhaps no example of combinations so skilful, so profoundly conceived, as those which he devised on this decisive occasion.

He had this triple problem to solve: to close by a barrier of iron the principal route, that leading direct from Alexandria to Piacenza; to occupy, in such a manner as to be able to hasten thither in case of need, that which, passing along the Upper Po, fell upon the Tessino; lastly, to retain the faculty of descending timely upon the Lower Po, if the Austrians, seeking to fly along the back of the Apennines, should attempt to cross the river below Piacenza, towards Cremona or Parma. General Bonaparte, incessantly poring over the map of Italy to find a post which fulfilled these three conditions, made a choice worthy of being for ever admired.

If we examine the course of the chain of the Apennines, we shall see that, in consequence of the curve which it forms to embrace the Gulf of Genoa, it runs northward, and throws out branches which approach very closely to the Po, from the position of la Stradella to the environs of Piacenza. In all this part of Piedmont and the duchy of Parma, the foot of the heights advances so near to the river as to leave but a very narrow space for the high road to Piacenza. An army posted in advance of la Stradella, at the entrance of a sort of defile several leagues in length, its left upon the heights, its centre upon the road, its right along the Po and the marshy grounds that border it, is difficult to dislodge. It must be added that the route is studded with hamlets and villages, built of stone, and very capable of resisting cannon. Against the imperial army, which was strong in cavalry and artillery, this position, therefore, independently of its natural advantages, possessed the property of annulling those two arms.

It had, moreover, other most peculiar advantages. It is very near this position that the tributary streams on the other side of the Po, most important to occupy, such as the Tessino and the Adda, effect their junction. Thus the Tessino falls into the Po, a little below Pavia and above Belgiojoso, nearly opposite to la Stradella, at the distance of two leagues at most. The Adda, running beyond and for a greater distance before it unites with the Po, discharges itself into that river between Piacenza and Cremona. The reader will at once comprehend that, placed at la Stradella, and master of the bridges of Belgiojoso, of Piacenza, and of Cremona, general Bonaparte would be in possession of the most decisive points; for he would bar the principal road, that from Alexandria to Piacenza, and he would have it in his power, at the same time, by a long march, to hasten to the Tessino, or to redescend the Po to Cremona, and to fly to-

wards the Adda, which covered his rear against the corps of Wukassowich.

It was in this species of net, formed by the Apennines, the Po, the Tessino, and the Adda, that he distributed his forces. He resolved first to proceed to la Stradella himself, with the 30,000 best soldiers of his army, Watrin's, Chambarlhac's, Gardanne's, Boudet's, and Monnier's divisions, placed under Murat, Victor, and Lannes, in the position that we have described, the left to the mountains, the centre upon the high road, the right along the Po. Chabran's division, which had come by the Little St. Bernard, and had at first been directed to occupy Ivrea, was afterwards sent on to Vercelli, with orders to fall back upon the Tessino, in case of the enemy's approach. Lapoype's division, which descended the St. Gothard, was posted on the Tessino itself, in the environs of Pavia. These were from 9000 to 10,000 men, who were to fall back upon one another, to dispute the passage of the Tessino to the last extremity, and to give general Bonaparte time to hasten in one day to their assistance. The detachment of the Simplon, guarded, under general Bethencourt, towards Arona, the route of the St. Gothard, the retreat of the French army in case of disaster. Gilly's division was to guard Milan: this was rendered necessary by the presence of an Austrian garrison in the citadel of that city. There were three or four thousand more men destined for this two-fold purpose. Lastly, Lorges' division, which had come from Germany, had orders to establish itself at Lodi on the Adda. Loison's division, which formed part of the army of reserve, was commissioned, under the command of general Duhesme, to defend Piacenza and Cremona. This was another force of 10,000 or 11,000 men employed on these two last points.

Such was the distribution of the fifty odd thousand soldiers whom general Bonaparte had at his disposal at the moment; 32,000 were at the central point of la Stradella, from 9,000 to 10,000 on the Tessino, 3000 or 4000 at Milan and Arona, lastly, from 10,000 to 11,000 on the lower course of the Po and of the Adda, all placed in such a manner as to support one another reciprocally with extreme promptness. In fact, on receiving notice from the Tessino, general Bonaparte could in a day fly to the succour of the 10,000 French who guarded it. On notice from the Lower Po, he could, in the same space of time, descend upon Piacenza and Cremona, while general Loison, defending the passage of the river, would give him time to hasten up. All and each of them, on their part, could march upon la Stradella and reinforce general Bonaparte in as short a time as it would take him to reach them.

General Bonaparte seemed here to deviate from his usual principle, that of concentrating his forces on the eve of a great battle. If such a concentration passes for a master-piece of art when it is effected seasonably, at the moment of a decisive ac-

tion, and in the case of two adversaries anxious to measure their strength, totally different tactics should be employed when one of the two is attempting to escape, and the art consists in seizing before fighting him! Such was the case here. It was requisite, in fact, that general Bonaparte should spread a net around the Austrian army, and that this net should be strong enough to detain it; for, if there had been on the Tessino or the Lower Po nothing but advanced guards, proper at most for giving notice, not for barring the road against an enemy, the aim would have been totally missed. There were needed at all the points posts capable at once of giving warning and of keeping the Austrians in check, whilst a principal mass was retained at the centre ready to hasten to any quarter with decisive means. It was impossible, then, to combine with more profound art the employment of his forces, and to modify more skilfully the application of his own principles, than general Bonaparte did on this occasion. It is in their manner of applying, according to circumstances, a true but general principle, that we recognise superior men of action.

This plan once decided upon, general Bonaparte gave his orders accordingly. Lannes, with Watrin's division, had been despatched to la Stradella by Pavia and Belgiojoso. It was of importance that Chambarlhac's, Gardanne's, Monnier's, and Boudet's divisions should carry to him the succour of their forces, before the Austrian corps—which, repulsed from Piacenza, might join general Ott's force towards Tortona,—should have time to press him. This was what general Bonaparte had foreseen with his prodigious sagacity. Being unable to leave Milan till the 8th and to reach la Stradella before the 9th, he despatched the following instructions to Berthier, Lannes, and Murat—Concentrate yourselves, said he, at la Stradella. On the 8th, or the 9th at latest, you will have upon your hands 15,000 or 18,000 Austrians, coming from Genoa. Go, meet them, rout them. There will be so many the fewer Austrians to fight, on the day of the decisive battle which awaits us with the whole army of M. de Melas.—Having given these orders, he set out on the 8th from Milan to cross the Po in person and to be the next day at la Stradella.

It was impossible to divine more accurately the movements of the enemy. We said just now that three Austrian detachments had appeared uselessly before Piacenza; that the detachment which had arrived from Tuscany by Fiorenzuola had been driven back; that the detachment of general Gottesheim, who had descended with infantry by the valley of the Trebbia, had been thrown back into that valley; lastly, that general Oreilly, hastening from Alexandria with cavalry, had been forced to return towards Tortona. But general Ott, on his part, marching by the road from Genoa to Tortona, arrived at la Stradella on the morning of the 9th of June, as general Bonaparte had foreseen. He brought along before him generals Gottesheim and Oreilly,

whom he had met retreating, and determined to make a vigorous effort upon Piacenza, not imagining that nearly the whole French army could be posted *en échelon* in the defile of la Stradella. Including the troops that had just rejoined him, he had 17,000 or 18,000 men. Lannes could not collect, on the morning of the 9th, more than 7000 or 8000: but, in consequence of the repeated warnings of the commander-in-chief, from 5000 to 6000 more were to rejoin him in the course of the day. The field of battle was that which we have described. Lannes presented himself—his left on the heights of the Apennines, the centre on the *chaussée* towards the hamlet of Casteggio, the right on the plain of the Po. He had been wrong in proceeding a little too far in advance of la Stradella, towards Casteggio and Montebello, just where the road ceases to form a defile, owing to the extent of the plain. But the French, full of confidence, though inferior in number, were capable of the greatest efforts of devotedness, especially under a leader like Lannes, who possessed in the highest degree the art of inducing them to follow him anywhere.

Lannes, directing with vigour Watrin's division upon Casteggio, beat back the advanced posts of Oreilly. His plan consisted in making himself master of the hamlet of Casteggio, lying before him on the road, either by attacking it in front, or by turning it by the plain of the Po, on the one hand, by the acclivities of the Apennines, on the other. The numerous artillery of the Austrians, established on the road, swept the ground in all directions. Two battalions of the 6th light strove to take this murderous artillery, by turning it by the right; while the 3rd battalion of the 6th and the whole 40th endeavoured to gain the neighbouring hills, situated on the left, and the rest of Watrin's division marched upon Casteggio itself, where the centre of the enemy was. An obstinate combat ensued at all these points. The French had wellnigh carried the attacked positions, when general Gottesheim, hastening up with his infantry to support Oreilly, overthrew the battalions which had climbed the heights. Lannes, under a tremendous fire, supported his troops, and prevented them from yielding to numbers. They were, nevertheless, ready to succumb, when Chambarlhac's division, forming part of general Victor's corps, arrived. General Rivaud, at the head of the 43rd, climbed the heights afresh, rallied the French battalions which had been repulsed from them, and, after incredible efforts, finally maintained himself there. At the centre, that is, on the high road, the 96th came to the assistance of general Watrin in his attack on the hamlet of Casteggio; and the 24th, extending itself to the right in the plain, endeavoured to turn the left of the enemy, in order to silence the fire of his artillery. During this combined effort on the wings, the brave Watrin had to sustain a furious combat in Casteggio; he lost and retook the hamlet several times. But

Lannes, present everywhere, gave the decisive impulsion. By his orders, general Rivaud, on the left, having remained master of the heights and crossed them, descended on the rear of Casteggio; the troops, sent into the plain on the right, turned the hotly contested hamlet; both marched to Montebello, while general Watrin, making a last effort on the enemy's centre, broke through it, and at length proceeded to beyond Casteggio. The Austrians, finding themselves at this moment repulsed in all quarters, fled to Montebello, leaving in our hands a considerable number of prisoners.

The action had lasted from eleven in the forenoon till eight in the evening. It was the Austrians who had blockaded Genoa, trained by Masséna to the most furious fights, that were here, in the plains of Piedmont, struggling with desperation to force their way through. They were supported by a numerous artillery, and they had displayed more than ordinary bravery. The First Consul arrived at the very moment when the battle, the place and the day of which he had so correctly foreseen, was just finished. He found Lannes covered with blood, but intoxicated with joy, and the troops enchanted with their success. They felt, as he has since said, that they had behaved well. The conscripts had proved themselves worthy to vie with the veteran soldiers. We had taken 4000 prisoners, wounded or killed nearly 3000 men. The victory had been difficult for us to gain, since 12,000 combatants, at most, had been opposed to 18,000.

Such was the battle of Montebello, which gave to Lannes and his family the title that distinguishes it among the French families of the present time—a glorious title, which his descendants ought to be proud to bear!

This first rencontre was a promising beginning, but it intimated to M. de Melas the difficulty he would have in forcing his way. General Ott, with a force diminished by 7000 men, retired in consternation upon Alexandria. The courage of the French army was raised to the highest degree of hardihood.

The First Consul lost no time in collecting his divisions, and in strongly occupying that road from Alexandria to Piacenza, which, in all probability, M. de Melas would follow. Lannes having advanced too far, the First Consul fell back a little to the very point which is called la Stradella, because the defile, narrowed in this place by the approximation of the heights and the river, renders the position more secure.

The 10th and 11th of June were passed in observing the movements of the Austrians, in concentrating the army, in giving it a little rest after its rapid marches, in organising the artillery in the best possible manner; for, till now, not more than forty field-pieces could be brought together at this point.

On the 11th, one of the most distinguished generals of that period, Desaix, who, perhaps, equalled Moreau, Masséna, Kléber, Lannes, in military talents, but who surpassed them all

in the rare perfections of his character, arrived at head-quarters. He had just returned from Egypt, where Kleber had committed political faults, which we shall soon have the chagrin to record, which Desaix strove in vain to prevent, and, to escape the painful sight of which, he had fled to Europe. These faults, however, had afterwards been gloriously retrieved. Desaix, stopped near the coast of France, had been treated by the English in the most shameful manner. He loved the First Consul with a sort of passion; and the First Consul, touched by the affection of such a noble heart, requited it by the warmest friendship that he ever felt in his life. They passed a whole night together, in relating to each other what had happened in Egypt and in France, and the First Consul immediately gave him the command of Monnier's and Boudet's united divisions.

On the following day, June 12th, general Bonaparte, surprised at seeing nothing of the Austrians, could not help feeling some apprehensions. Astonished that, in such a situation, M. de Melas should hesitate, lose time, and suffer all the outlets to be closed around him, measuring his adversary too closely by his own standard, he said that M. de Melas could not have wasted such precious hours, and that he must have escaped, either by ascending towards Genoa, or by crossing the Upper Po, with the intention of forcing the Tessino. Tired of waiting, he left, in the afternoon of the 12th, his position of la Stradella, and advanced, followed by the whole army, to the height of Tortona. He gave orders for the blockade of that fortress, and established his head-quarters at Voghera. On the morning of the 13th, he crossed the Scrivia, and debouched in the immense plain extending between the Scrivia and the Bormida, which, at the present day, has no other name but the plain of Marengo. It was the very same which, several months before, his imagination marked out for the theatre of a great battle with M. de Melas. At this place, the Po flows at a distance from the Apennines. The intervening country is intersected by the Bormida and the Tanaro, whose currents have become less rapid, and uniting near Alexandria, afterwards discharge themselves into the bed of the Po. The road skirting the foot of the Apennines to Tortona separates from it opposite to that place, turns off to the right, passes the Scrivia, and debouches in a vast plain. It runs across it to a first village called San Giuliano, proceeds to a second called Marengo, at length crosses the Bormida, and leads to the celebrated fortress of Alexandria. "If the enemy meant to follow the high road from Piacenza to Mantua, it is here that he would wait for me," said general Bonaparte to himself; "here his numerous artillery, his fine cavalry, would have great advantages, and he would fight with all his united means." Having made this reflection, general Bonaparte, in order to confirm himself in his conjectures, ordered the country to be scoured by light cavalry, which did not fall in with a single

Austrian outpost. Towards evening, he sent forward general Victor's corps, composed of Gardanne's and Chambarlhac's divisions, to Marengo. At this point we encountered a detachment, that of Oreilly, which defended for a moment the village of Marengo, then abandoned it, and recrossed the Bormida. A reconnaissance, not made with due care, even afforded room to suppose that the enemy had no bridge upon the Bormida.

From all these signs, general Bonaparte ceased to doubt that M. de Melas had, as he expressed it, given him the slip. He would not have abandoned the plain, and particularly the village of Marengo, which forms the entrance to it, if he had meant to cross it, to fight a battle, and to conquer the route from Alexandria to Piacenza. Misled by this most just reflection, general Bonaparte left general Victor, with his two divisions, at Marengo; he placed Lannes *en échelon* in the plain with Watrin's division, and galloped off for his head-quarters at Voghera, to get intelligence from general Moncey, stationed on the Tessino, from general Duhesme, stationed on the Lower Po, and thus ascertain what had become of M. de Melas. Officers of the staff, starting from all points, were directed to meet him at his head-quarters. But the Scrivia was overflowed, and very fortunately he was obliged to stop at Torre di Garofolo. Accounts from the Tessino and the Po, dated that very day, intimated that all was perfectly quiet. M. de Melas had attempted nothing in that quarter. What could have become of him? . . . . General Bonaparte conceived that he had marched back upon Genoa, by Novi, with the intention of passing into the valley of the Trebbia, and again falling upon Cremona. It seemed, in fact, that, as he was not at Alexandria, as he was not on march for the Tessino, he could not have taken any other course. It might also be conjectured that, following the example of Wurmser at Mantua, he had gone and shut himself up in Genoa, where, supplied by the English, having a garrison of 50,000 men, he would have the means of protracting the war. These ideas had taken such strong hold of the mind of the First Consul, that he directed Desaix to march upon Rivalta and Novi with Boudet's single division. It was, in fact, through Novi that M. de Melas would have to pass, in going from Alexandria to Genoa.

However, from a lucky presentiment, he kept Monnier's division, and the second of Desaix's divisions, at head-quarters, and he provided as far as possible for all contingencies, by leaving Victor at Marengo with two divisions, Lannes with one in the plain, Murat at his sides with all the cavalry. If we consider the general distribution of the French forces at this moment, spread partly on the Tessino, partly on the Lower Po and the Adda, partly on the route to Genoa, we shall be struck with their dispersion. This was the necessary consequence of the general situation and of the circumstances of the day.

The night of the 13th, which preceded one of the most glorious

days in history, general Bonaparte passed at the village of Torre di Garofolo, and fell asleep, expecting to receive tidings on the morrow.

Meanwhile, confusion reigned in Alexandria. The Austrian army was in despair. A council of war had just been held, and none of the resolutions which the French general was afraid of had been adopted. There had indeed been some talk of retiring by the Upper Po and the Tessino, or shutting themselves up in Genoa, but the Austrian generals, like brave men, as they were, had preferred following the suggestions of honour. After all, said they, we have been fighting for these eighteen months, like good soldiers; we had reconquered Italy; we were in march for the frontiers of France; our government urged us forward; it was but yesterday that it gave such orders: it behoved it to apprise us of the danger which threatened our rear. If any blame attaches to our situation, to the government that blame belongs. All the means proposed for avoiding an engagement with the French army are complicated, difficult, hazardous; there is but one simple and honourable course, it is to break through. To-morrow we must open a way for ourselves at the price of our blood. If we succeed, we will regain, after a victory, the road to Piacenza and Mantua; if not, after we have done our duty, the responsibility for our disaster will fall upon others, not upon ourselves.

The First Consul could not comprehend how so much time could be thrown away in deliberating in such an emergency. But there was none who equalled the promptness of his determinations, and M. de Melas was in a position sufficiently desperate to cause the cruel perplexities which delayed his definitive resolution to be forgiven. In deciding to give battle, the Austrian general behaved like a soldier full of honour; but he might be reproached for having left 25,000 men in the fortresses of Coni, Turin, Tortona, Genoa, Acqui, Gavi, and Alexandria, especially after the loss which Ott had sustained at Montebello. With 25,000 men in the fortresses, 3000 in Tuscany, 12,000 between Mantua and Venice, he had left 40,000 men at most to bring upon the field of battle, where the issue of the war was to be decided. To this number had dwindled that fine army 120,000 strong, which, at the commencement of the campaign, was to force the southern frontiers of France! 40,000 had perished, 40,000 were scattered, 40,000 were about to fight, in order to escape the Caudine Forks; but among these last were a powerful cavalry and 200 pieces of cannon.

It was decided that, on the following day, the whole army should debouch by the bridges of the Bormida, for there were two, covered by one and the same *tête du pont*, notwithstanding the false intelligence given to general Bonaparte; that general Ott, at the head of 10,000 men, half cavalry, half infantry, should debouch from the Bormida, and, turning to the left, proceed to-

wards a village called Castel Ceriolo; that generals Haddick and Kaim, at the head of the main body of the army, about 20,000 men, should carry the village of Marengo, which forms the entrance to the plain; and that general Oreilly, with 5000 or 6000 soldiers, should turn to the right and ascend the Bormida. A powerful artillery was to support this movement. A considerable detachment, particularly strong in cavalry, was left in the rear of Alexandria, on the Acqui road, to observe Suchet's troops, of whose arrival vague accounts had been received.

We have described that vast plain, traversed throughout its whole extent by the high road from Alexandria to Piacenza, and inclosed between the Scrivia and the Bormida. The French, marching from Piacenza and the Scrivia, came first to San Giuliano, then, three-quarters of a league further, to Marengo, which was very near the Bormida, and formed the principal débouché that the Austrian army had to gain possession of, in order to get out of Alexandria. Between San Giuliano and Marengo ran, in a straight line, the road that was about to be disputed, and on either side extended a plain covered with cornfields and vineyards. Below Marengo, and on the right of the French, on the left of the Austrians, was Castel Ceriolo, a large hamlet, through which general Ott would have to pass, in order to turn the corps of general Victor stationed in Marengo. Upon Marengo, then, the principal attack of the Austrians was to be directed, since that village commanded the entrance to the plain.

At daybreak, the Austrian army crossed the two bridges of the Bormida. But its movement was slow, owing to its having but a single *tête de pont* to debouch by. Oreilly passed first, and fell in with Gardanne's division, which general Victor, after he had occupied Marengo, had sent forward. This division consisted of only the 101st and the 44th demi-brigades. Oreilly, supported by a numerous artillery, and having twice the force, obliged it to fall back and to seek shelter in Marengo. Fortunately he did not follow it into the place, but waited until the centre, under general Haddick, was able to support him. The tardiness of the march through the defile formed by the bridges caused the Austrians to lose two or three hours. At length, generals Haddick and Kaim deployed in the rear of Oreilly, and general Ott crossed the same bridges, to proceed to Castel Ceriolo. General Victor instantly united his two divisions to defend Marengo, and sent word to the First Consul, that the whole Austrian army was advancing, with the evident intention of giving battle.

A defence peculiar to the ground served most seasonably to second the intrepidity of our soldiers. In advance of Marengo, between the Austrians and the French, was a deep and muddy rivulet, called the Fontanone. It ran between Marengo and the Bormida, and emptied itself, a little lower down, into the Bor-

mida. Victor placed towards his right, that is, in the village of Marengo, the 101st and 44th demi-brigades, under general Gardanne; to the left of the village, the 24th, the 43rd, and the 96th, under general Chambarlhac; a little further back, general Kellermann, with the 20th, 2nd, and 8th cavalry, and a squadron of the 12th. The rest of the 12th was sent to the Upper Bormida, to observe the distant movements of the enemy.

General Haddick advanced towards the rivulet, protected by twenty-five pieces of artillery, which played upon the French. He threw himself bravely into the bed of the Fontanone, at the head of Bellegarde's division. General Rivaud, instantly leaving the shelter of the village, with the 44th and the 101st, opened a point-blank fire upon the Austrians, who were endeavouring to debouch. A most obstinate conflict ensued along the Fontanone. Haddick made repeated attempts; but Rivaud,* keeping his ground under the batteries of the Austrians, stopped Haddick's corps by a fire of musketry within short range, and drove it back in disorder to the other side of the rivulet. The unfortunate general Haddick received a wound, which afterwards proved mortal, and his soldiers retired. M. de Melas then ordered general Kaim's troops to advance, and directed Oreilly to ascend the bank of the Bormida to a place called La Stortigliona, with the design of charging our left with Pilati's cavalry. But at this moment general Kellermann was on horseback, at the head of his division of cavalry, observing the movements of the enemy's squadrons; and Lannes, who had lain, the preceding night, to the right of Victor, in the plain, had just placed himself in line between Marengo and Castel Ceriolo. The Austrians, then, made a second effort. Gardanne's and Chambarlhac's divisions, drawn up in a semicircle, around the semicircular bed of the Fontanone, were placed in such a manner as to pour a converging fire upon the point of attack. Their musketry spread havoc among the troops of general Kaim. Meanwhile, general Pilati, ascending higher, had succeeded in crossing the Fontanone, at the head of 2000 horse. The gallant Kellermann, who on this day added greatly to the glory he had acquired on the field of Valmy, dashed upon Pilati's squadrons, as soon as they attempted to debouch, slaughtering, and hurling them into the muddy bed of that little stream, which art could not have formed better for covering the position of the French.

At this moment, though our army, taken by surprise, had no more than the two corps of Victor and Lannes in line, that is to say, 15,000 or 16,000 men to resist 36,000, still, owing to the fault committed by the Austrians on the preceding day, in neglecting to occupy Marengo, a fault, however, which had been productive of advantages to them, such as it had led general Bonaparte into error, our army had time to wait the arrival of

* Olivier Rivaud.

its commander, and of the reserves remaining behind, or sent by the route of Novi.

Such was the state of things, when M. de Melas determined to make a desperate effort to save the honour and the liberty of his army, and, gallantly seconded by his soldiers, all veterans, whose victories in the preceding campaign had heightened their courage, M. de Melas made another attack on the French line. General Ott, who had taken a good deal of time in filing off, began to be in a condition to act on the left of the Austrians. He manœuvred with a view to turn us, passed through Castel Ceriolo, and fell upon Lannes, who, placed beside Victor, between Marengo and Castel Ceriolo, formed the right of our line. While general Ott's corps occupied the attention of Lannes, the corps of Oreilly, Haddick, and Kaim, having united, were directed anew upon the Fontanone, in front of Marengo. A formidable artillery supported all their movements. Lattermann's grenadiers entered the brook, crossed it, and gained the other bank. Chambarlhac's division, posted on the left of Marengo, and on the flanks of the Austrian grenadiers, kept up a destructive fire upon them. A battalion of these grenadiers, nevertheless, contrived to maintain its ground beyond the Fontanone. M. de Melas redoubled the cannonade on Chambarlhac's division, which was not covered by the houses of the village, like that which defended Marengo itself. Meanwhile the Austrian pioneers hastily constructed a bridge on trestles. The gallant Rivaud, at the head of the 44th, issuing from the village of Marengo, and marching up to the assailants, in spite of the grape-shot, was on the point of driving them into the Fontanone, when tremendous discharges of artillery stopped the 44th, exhausted by this obstinate struggle, and Rivaud himself was wounded. Availing themselves of this advantage, Lattermann's grenadiers advanced *en masse*, and penetrated into Marengo. Rivaud, covered with blood, placed himself once more at the head of the 44th, made a vigorous charge on these grenadiers, and drove them out of Marengo; but received, as soon as he lost the shelter of the houses, by a fearful fire of artillery, he could not force them to recross the brook, which had hitherto so well protected our army. Weakened by loss of blood, and scarcely able to support himself, this brave officer was obliged to submit to be carried off the field of battle. The Austrian grenadiers therefore retained possession of the position which they had just carried. At the same instant, Chambarlhac's division, which, as we have said, was not protected by any shelter, but completely exposed to the grape-shot, was well nigh mowed down. General Oreilly repulsed the 96th, which formed our extreme left, and then began to act on the offensive. Towards the right, Lannes, who, having at first the single corps of general Kaim only to deal with, had been on the point of driving it into the bed of the Fontanone, perceived that he was all at once turned by general Ott, debouching from

Castel Ceriolo with a large body of cavalry. Champeaux's brigade of cavalry, drawn up in rear of Lannes' corps, as was Kellermann in rear of Victor's, made, but in vain, several brilliant charges. The unfortunate Champeaux received a mortal wound. Our army, severely pressed on both wings, separated from Marengo, the point to which it had at first so strongly clung, and, having no longer any support, ran the risk of being forced back into the plain in the rear, where it could make no stand against two hundred pieces of cannon and an immense cavalry.

It was ten o'clock in the morning. The carnage had been frightful. A considerable mass of wounded encumbered the road between Marengo and San Giuliano. Already part of Victor's troops, overwhelmed by numbers, were retiring in disorder, crying that all was lost. All must have been lost, in fact, without a reinforcement of troops, which were not exhausted, and, more especially, without a great captain, capable of regaining the victory wrested from us.

General Bonaparte, on receiving intelligence that the Austrian army, which he so feared might escape him, had, on the contrary, taken his army by surprise, in that very plain of Marengo, so deserted on the preceding day, hastened from Torre di Garofalo, congratulating himself on the lucky inundation of the Scrivia, which had prevented him from passing the night at Voghera. He brought with him the consular guard, a body not very numerous, but of incomparable valour, and which became subsequently the imperial guard; he brought Monnier's division, composed of three excellent demi-brigades; he was followed at a little distance by a reserve of two regiments of cavalry; and he further sent orders to Desaix to march with the utmost expedition for San Giuliano.

The First Consul, at the head of these reserves, proceeded at a gallop to the field of battle. He found Lannes attacked on the right by the infantry and cavalry of general Ott, and endeavouring, nevertheless, to support himself on the left around Marengo. Gardanne was defending himself in the hedges of that village, the object of such a furious struggle; and, on the other side, Chambarlhac's division was dispersing under the heavy discharges of the Austrian artillery. A glance sufficed for his military eye to perceive what was fitting to be done in order to retrieve the day. His mutilated left was absolutely routed; but his right, which was only threatened, still maintained its ground; it was that, therefore, which ought to be reinforced. By keeping a firm hold of Castel Ceriolo he should have a point of support amidst that extensive plain; he should be able to make a pivot of his strengthened wing, and bring his beaten wing into the rear, where it would be out of the reach of the enemy. If he should lose by this movement the high road from Marengo to San Giuliano, the evil would be reparable; for, behind his new position, there would be another road, leading

to Salé, and from Salé to the banks of the Po. His line of retreat to Pavia would thus be still secured. Placed, moreover, on the right of the plain, he would be on the flank of the Austrians, who would take the high road from Marengo to San Giuliano, if they meant to follow up the victory.

Having made these reflections with the rapidity of lightning, general Bonaparte put instantly into execution the resolution which he had just conceived. He sent forward into the plain, to the right of Lannes, the 800 grenadiers of the consular guard, ordering them to stop the Austrian cavalry till the arrival of Monnier's three demi-brigades. These brave fellows, formed in square, received with admirable coolness the charges of the Lobkowitz dragoons, and stood unbroken by the repeated assaults of a multitude of horse. A little on their right, general Bonaparte ordered two of Monnier's demi-brigades, which arrived at the moment, to proceed towards Castel Ceriolo. These two demi-brigades, headed by general Carra St. Cyr, marched forward, and, sometimes drawn up in square to stop the cavalry, sometimes in columns of attack to charge the infantry, they at length recovered the lost ground, and lodged themselves in the hedges and gardens of Castel Ceriolo. At the same moment, general Bonaparte, at the head of the 72nd, lent his support to the left under Lannes, while Dupont, the chief of the staff, went to rally in the rear the wrecks of Victor's corps, pursued by Oreilly's horse, but protected by Murat with the reserve of cavalry. The presence of the First Consul, the sight of the bear-skin caps of his horse-guard, infused fresh spirit into the troops. The battle recommenced with new fury. The brave Watrin, of Lannes' corps, with the 6th of the line and the 22nd, drove Kaim's soldiers into the Fontanone at the point of the bayonet. Lannes, firing the 40th and the 28th with his own heroic spirit, pushed both of them upon the Austrians. The battle raged fiercely over the whole of the immense plain. Gardanne strove to reconquer Marengo; Lannes endeavoured to make himself master of the rivulet, which, at first, had so usefully covered our troops; the grenadiers of the consular guard, still in square, like a living citadel amidst that field of battle, filled the gap between Lannes and the columns of Carra St. Cyr, which had entered the first houses of Castel Ceriolo. But baron de Melas, with the courage of despair, bringing up his united masses upon Marengo, debouched at last from the village, and drove back the exhausted soldiers of Gardanne, who, in vain, took advantage of all obstacles. Oreilly continued to overwhelm with grape-shot the division of Chambarlhac, which was still left exposed to the fire of an immense artillery.

It was impossible for the French to keep their ground; they were obliged to give way. General Bonaparte ordered them to fall back by degrees, at the same time keeping up a firm coun-

tenance. But, while his left, deprived of Marengo, and thenceforward without support, retreated rapidly to San Giuliano, where it might find shelter, he continued to hold the right of the plain, and drew away from it slowly, thanks to the point of Castel Ceriolo, thanks to the energy of the consular guard, and thanks above all to Lannes, who made unparalleled efforts. Provided only he holds his position on the right, the First Consul still retains a line of retreat by Salé towards the banks of the Po; and, if Desaix, sent the preceding day upon Novi, should come up in time, he may still reconquer the field of battle and bring back victory to his side.

It was at this moment that Lannes and his four demi-brigades made efforts worthy of the admiration of posterity. The enemy, who had debouched *en masse* from Marengo into the plain, poured forth a shower of balls and grape-shot from eighty pieces of cannon. Lannes, at the head of his four demi-brigades, was two hours in retiring three quarters of a league. When the enemy approached and became too pressing, he halted and charged with the bayonet. Though his artillery was dismounted, a few light pieces, drawn by the best horses, and manœuvred with equal skill and boldness, were brought up, and assisted by their fire the demi-brigades that were too much cramped, and dared to place themselves in battery against the formidable Austrian artillery. The consular guard, which could not be broken by charges of cavalry, was now attacked with cannon. The enemy strove to batter it in breach, like a wall, and then charged it with Frimont's horse. It sustained considerable loss, and fell back, but unbroken. Carra St. Cyr fell back also, and abandoned Castel Ceriolo, still retaining, however, a last support in the vineyards in rear of that village. We, nevertheless, remained masters of the road from Castel Ceriolo to Salé. On all sides, the plain exhibited a vast scene of carnage, where the roar of explosions mingled with that of the artillery; for Lannes blew up the ammunition-waggons, which he could not carry off.

Half the day was spent. M. de Melas fancied himself sure of the victory, which he had so dearly purchased. This old warrior, who, for courage at least, proved himself worthy of his adversary on that memorable day, returned to Alexandria, worn out with fatigue. He left the command to M. de Zach, the chief of his staff, and sent off couriers to all Europe, to proclaim his victory and the defeat of general Bonaparte at Marengo. This chief of the staff, invested with the command, then formed the bulk of the Austrian army into marching column, on the high road from Marengo to San Giuliano. He put at the head two regiments of infantry, and then the column of Lattermann's grenadiers, followed by the baggage train. He placed general Oreilly on the left, and generals Kaim and Haddick on the right; and en-

deavoured to gain in this order that high road to Piacenza, the object of so many efforts, and the salvation of the Austrian army.

It was now three o'clock. If no new circumstance intervened, the battle might be considered as lost by the French, unless they could, on the morrow, with the troops shifted from the Tessino and the Adda, to the Po, retrieve the misfortune of the day. Desaix, however, with Boudet's whole division, had not yet come up: would he arrive in time? On this circumstance depended the issue of the battle. The aides-de-camp of the First Consul had been galloping in quest of him ever since morning. But, long before they reached him, Desaix, on the first cannon-shot fired in the plain of Marengo, had instantly wheeled about. Hearing this distant report, he had concluded that the enemy, whom he had been sent in search of to Novi, on the Genoa road, was at Marengo itself. He had immediately despatched Savary, with a few hundred horse, to Novi, to see what was going forward, and had waited with his division, listening intently to the cannon of the Austrians and the French, which never ceased thundering in the direction of the Bormida. From Savary having discovered no trace of the enemy in the environs of Novi, Desaix was confirmed in his happy conjecture, and, without further delay, marched for Marengo, sending before him several aides-de-camp to apprise the First Consul that he was coming. He had marched the whole day, and, at three o'clock, his heads of columns at length appeared at the entrance into the plain, in the vicinity of San Giuliano. He himself, preceding them at a gallop, rode up to the First Consul. Happy inspiration of a lieutenant equally intelligent and attached! happy fortune of youth! If, fifteen years later, the First Consul, now so well seconded by his generals, had found a Desaix on the field of Waterloo, he would have preserved the empire, and France her preponderant position among the powers of Europe.

The presence of Desaix changed the aspect of things. He was surrounded; he was made acquainted with the occurrences of the day. The generals formed a circle about him and the First Consul, and discussed with warmth the critical position of the army. Most of them advised retreat. The First Consul was not of this opinion, and he earnestly pressed Desaix for his. Desaix, surveying the devastated field of battle, then drawing out his watch and looking at the hour, replied to general Bonaparte in these simple and noble terms: "Yes, the battle is lost; but it is only three o'clock; there is time enough to gain another." General Bonaparte, delighted with the opinion of Desaix, prepared to avail himself of the succour brought him by that general, and of the advantages ensured to him by the position taken ever since morning. He was, in fact, in the plain, on the right, while the enemy was on the left, in marching column, on the high road, advancing towards San Giuliano. Desaix, ar-

riving from San Giuliano, with 6000 fresh troops, and facing the Austrians, might stop them short, while the bulk of the rallied army should fall upon their flank. Orders were forthwith issued in accordance with this plan.

The three demi-brigades of Desaix were formed in advance of San Giuliano, a little to the right of the high road; the 30th deployed in line; the 9th and 59th in close columns on the wings of the former. A slight undulation of the ground concealed them from the enemy. On their left were the rallied and somewhat recovered wrecks of Chambarlhac's and Gardanne's troops under general Victor; on their right, in the plain, Lannes, whose retreating movement was suspended, then the consular guard, then Carra St. Cyr, who had kept as near as possible to Castel Ceriolo. The army then formed a long oblique line from San Giuliano to Castel Ceriolo, and between Desaix and Lannes, and a little in rear, was placed Kellermann's cavalry in the interval. A battery of twelve pieces, the sole remnant of the whole artillery of the army, was spread upon the front of the corps of Desaix.

These dispositions made, the First Consul rode through the ranks of his soldiers, and addressed the different corps. "My friends," said he, "we have fallen back far enough: recollect that I am accustomed to lie on the field of battle." Having reanimated the troops, who, inspirited by the arrival of the reserves, burned with impatience to resume the fight, he gave the signal for attack. A charge was beaten along the whole line.

The Austrians, in order of march rather than in order of battle, were proceeding along the high road. The column under the command of M. de Zach came first. A little in rear, came the centre, half deployed in the plain, and making front to Lannes.

General Marmont all at once unmasked twelve pieces of cannon. A thick shower of grape-shot fell upon the head of the surprised Austrian column, which expected no further resistance; for the enemy believed that the French were decidedly retreating. Scarcely had it recovered from this sudden shock, when Desaix set the 9th light in motion. "Go and inform the First Consul," said he to Savary, his aide-de-camp, "that I am charging, and that I am in want of cavalry to support me." Desaix, on horseback, led on this demi-brigade. He ascended with it the slight rise of the ground which hid it from the view of the Austrians, and abruptly revealed himself to them by a fire of musketry discharged within a few paces of them. The Austrians returned it, and Desaix fell, pierced by a ball in the chest. "Conceal my death," said he, to general Boudet, his chief of division; "it might dishearten the troops." Useless precaution of that hero! His fall had been observed, and his soldiers, like those of Turenne, insisted, with loud shouts, on avenging their leader. The 9th light, which on that day earned the title of *incomparable*, which it bore till the ter-

mination of our wars—the 9th light, having poured forth its fire, formed in column, and fell upon the dense mass of the Austrians. At sight of it, the first two regiments which opened the march, taken by surprise, fell back in disorder on the second line, and disappeared in its ranks. The column of Lattermann's grenadiers was then alone at the head, and received this shock like crack troops. It stood firm. The conflict extended on both sides of the high road. The 9th light was supported on the right by Victor's rallied troops, on the left by the 30th and 59th demi-brigades of Boudet's division, which had followed the movement. Lattermann's grenadiers were defending themselves with difficulty, when an unforeseen storm suddenly burst over their heads. General Kellermann, who, on the application of Desaix, had received orders to charge, set off at a gallop, and, passing between Lannes and Desaix, placed part of his squadrons *en potence*, to make head against the Austrian cavalry, which he saw before him; then, with the rest, he fell upon the flank of the column of the grenadiers, already attacked in front by Boudet's infantry. This charge, executed with extraordinary vigour, cut the column in two. Kellermann's dragoons slaughtered to the right and to the left, till, pressed on all sides, the unfortunate grenadiers laid down their arms. Two thousand of them surrendered. At their head, general Zach himself was obliged to deliver his sword. The Austrians were thus deprived of their commander during the conclusion of the battle; for M. de Melas, as we have seen, thinking himself sure of the victory, had retired to Alexandria. Kellermann did not stop there; dashing upon the Lichtenstein dragoons, he put them to flight. The latter fell back upon the centre of the Austrians, which was deploying in the plain, in face of Lannes, and threw it into some disorder. Lannes then advanced, and attacked the shaken centre of the Austrians with vigour; while the grenadiers of the consular guard and Carra St. Cyr again moved towards Castel Ceriolo, from which they were not far distant. Along the whole line from San Giuliano to Castel Ceriolo, the French had resumed the offensive; they marched forward, intoxicated with joy and enthusiasm, on perceiving victory returning to them. Surprise and discouragement had passed to the side of the Austrians.

Admirable determination of character, which persists, and, by persisting, brings back Fortune! From San Giuliano to Castel Ceriolo, that oblique line of the French advanced at the charge-step, driving back the Austrians, utterly astonished at having a new battle to fight. Carra St. Cyr had soon retaken the village of Castel Ceriolo, and general Ott, who had at first advanced beyond that village, fearful of being overpowered, thought of falling back, lest he should have his communication cut of. A panic was communicated to the cavalry; it fled at full speed, shouting, "To the bridges!" All, then,

strove who should first reach those bridges of the Bormida. General Ott, recrossing at Castel Ceriolo with Vogelsang's troops, was obliged to force his way through the French. He succeeded, and regained in haste the banks of the Bormida, to which all hurried with furious precipitation.

Generals Kaim and Haddick strove in vain to keep their ground in the centre; Lannes did not allow them the means of doing so; he drove them into Marengo, and prepared to push them into the Fontanone, and, from the Fontanone, into the Bormida. But Weidenfeld's grenadiers made head for a moment, to give Oreilly, who had advanced as far as Cassina Grossa, time to come back. The Austrian cavalry, on its part, attempted several charges to stop the progress of the French. But it was repelled by the horse grenadiers of the consular guard, led by Bessières and young Beauharnais. Lannes and Victor, with their united corps, at last fell upon Marengo, and threw Oreilly's as well as Weidenfeld's grenadiers into disorder. The confusion on the bridges of the Bormida increased every moment. Foot, horse, artillery, were crowded together there in disorder. The bridges being insufficient for all, many threw themselves into the Bormida, for the purpose of fording it. An artillery-driver attempted to cross with his gun. He succeeded, and the whole of the artillery would then have followed his example, but part of the carriages stuck fast in the bed of the river. The French hotly pursuing them, took men, horses, cannon, and baggage. The unfortunate baron de Melas, who, two hours before, had left his army victorious, had hastened to the spot on hearing of this disaster, and could not believe his eyes. He was a prey to vexation and despair. Such was the sanguinary battle of Marengo, which, as we shall presently see, had an immense influence on the destinies of France and of the world; it gave, in fact, at the moment, peace to the Republic, and, a little later, the Empire to the First Consul. It was cruelly disputed, and it was worth the disputing; for never was the issue of a battle more serious for both adversaries. M. de Melas fought to avoid a humiliating capitulation; general Bonaparte staked on that day his whole fortune. The losses, considering the number of the combatants, were immense, and out of all the usual proportions. The Austrians lost about 8000 men, in killed and wounded, and more than 4000 prisoners. Their staff was cruelly decimated. General Haddick was killed; generals Vogelsang, Lattermann, Bellegarde, Lamarsaille, and Gottesheim were wounded; and with them a great number of officers. Thus they lost, in men *hors de combat* or taken, one-third of their army, if it was from 36,000 to 40,000 strong, as it is generally said to have been. As for the French, they had 6000 killed or wounded, and about 1000 of them were taken prisoners, which again exhibits a loss of one-fourth, out of 28,000 soldiers present at the battle. Their staff suffered as

severely as the Austrian staff. Generals Mainony, Rivaud, Malher, Champeaux, were wounded, the last mortally. The greatest loss was that of Desaix. France had not sustained one more to be regretted during a ten years' warfare. In the estimation of the First Consul, this loss was great enough to diminish the joy that he felt for the victory. His secretary, M. de Bourrienne, hastening to congratulate him on this miraculous triumph, said to him, "What a glorious day!" "Yes," replied the First Consul, "it would have been glorious indeed, could I but have embraced Desaix this evening on the field of battle. I was going," added he, "to make him minister of war; I would have made him a prince, if I could." The conqueror of Marengo had as yet no notion that he should, at no distant day, have it in his power to bestow crowns on those who served him. The body of the unfortunate Desaix was lying near San Giuliano, amidst that vast field of carnage. His aide-de-camp, Savary, who had been long attached to him, sought out his body from among the dead, and, recognising it by his profusion of hair, had it removed, and wrapped in an hussar cloak; then placing it on his horse, he conveyed it to the head-quarters at Torre di Garofalo.

Though the plain of Marengo was drenched with French blood, joy pervaded the army. Soldiers and generals felt the merit of their conduct, and appreciated the immense importance of a victory gained on the rear of the enemy. The Austrians, on the contrary, were in consternation; they knew that they were enveloped, and had no alternative but to submit to the law of the conqueror. Baron de Melas, who, on this day, had two horses killed under him, and who, in spite of his great age, had behaved as well as the youngest and most valiant soldier in his army could have done—baron de Melas was overwhelmed with the profoundest grief. He had returned to Alexandria, to rest himself a little, in the belief that he was the victor. Now he saw his army half destroyed, seeking flight by every outlet, abandoning its artillery to the French, or leaving it swamped in the marshes of the Bormida. To complete the misfortune, Zach, the chief of his staff, who enjoyed his entire confidence, was at this moment a prisoner with the French. In vain he turned his eyes from one of his generals to another; none of them would give an opinion, but all cursed the cabinet of Vienna, which had kept them under such fatal illusions, and thus plunged them into an abyss. It was imperative, however, to come to some determination, but what? .... To fight, in order to clear themselves a way? They had just tried that plan, but not succeeded. To retire upon Genoa, or to cross the Upper Po, for the purpose of forcing the Tessino? These courses, difficult before the battle, were impracticable since it had been fought and lost. General Suchet was a few leagues in rear with the army of Liguria, towards Acqui; general Bo-

naparte was in advance of Alexandria, with the victorious army of reserve. They were on the point of effecting their junction, and cutting off the road to Genoa. General Moncey, who, with the detachments which had come from Germany, was guarding the Tessino, might be succoured by general Bonaparte in as short a time as it would take to march to him. Thus there was no chance of escape on any side, and they were compelled to adopt the cruel idea of capitulating; happy if, in abandoning Italy, they could save the liberty of the Austrian army, and if they could obtain from the generosity of the conqueror the concession that those unfortunate troops should not be made prisoners of war. In consequence, it was resolved that a flag of truce should be sent to general Bonaparte, for the purpose of entering into negotiations. Prince Lichtenstein was selected to repair, next morning, June 15th (26th Prairial), to the French head-quarters.

The First Consul, on his part, had many reasons for treating. His principal aim was attained, for Italy was delivered by a single battle. After the victory which he had just won, and which enabled him completely to hem in the Austrians, he was certain to obtain the evacuation of Italy; he might even, in strictness, require the vanquished to lay down their arms, and to surrender themselves prisoners. But, by wounding the honour of those brave men, he might, perhaps, urge them to an act of despair. It would be spilling useless blood, and, above all, it would be losing time. Having been absent from Paris for above a month, he was sensible how important it was that he should return as speedily as possible. We had a prisoner, who was capable of being a most useful medium of communication. This was general Zach. To him the First Consul opened his mind; he expressed, in his presence, his sincere desire to make peace, his disposition to spare the imperial army, and to grant it honourable terms. The Austrian flag of truce having meanwhile arrived, he manifested before that envoy the same sentiments that he had expressed to M. de Zach, and charged both of them to return with Berthier to M. de Melas, to settle the bases of a capitulation. According to his custom in all cases of this kind, he declared irrevocably the conditions already fixed in his own mind, adding that no parleying would induce him to modify them. Thus he refrained from insisting that the army of the Austrians should be declared prisoners of war; he was willing to allow it to pass with the honours of war; but he required that all the fortresses of Liguria, Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations, should be immediately given up to France, and that the Austrians should evacuate all Italy, as far as the Mincio. The negotiators set out forthwith for the Austrian head-quarters.

The conditions which they brought, though rigorous, were natural, one might even say generous. One only was mortify-

ing, almost humiliating; this was the surrender of Genoa, after such effusion of blood, and after an occupation of a few days only; but evidently the conqueror could not waive this point. M. de Melas, nevertheless, sent his principal negotiator to the First Consul, to make some remonstrances against the proposed armistice. "Sir," said the First Consul, with warmth, "my conditions are irrevocable. It was not yesterday that I began my military life; your position is as well known to me as to yourselves. You are in Alexandria, incumbered with dead, wounded, sick, destitute of provisions; you have lost the best troops of your army, and are surrounded on all sides. There is nothing that I might not require, but I respect the gray hair of your general, and the valour of your troops, and I require nothing more than is imperatively demanded by the present situation of affairs. Return to Alexandria; do what you will, you shall have no other conditions."

The convention was signed at Alexandria on that same day, the 15th, according to the bases proposed by general Bonaparte. It was agreed, in the first place, that there should be a suspension of arms in Italy, till the receipt of an answer from Vienna. If the convention was confirmed, the Austrians were to be at liberty to retire with the honours of war behind the line of the Mincio. They engaged, in retiring, to deliver up to the French all the fortresses which they occupied. The citadels of Tortona, Alexandria, Milan, Arona, and Piacenza, were to be delivered up between the 16th and the 20th of June (27th Prairial, and 1st Messidor); the citadels of Ceva, Savona, the fortresses of Coni and Genoa, between the 16th and the 24th of June; and the fort of Urbino on the 26th. The Austrian army was to be divided into three columns, which were to retire one after another, as fast as the fortresses were delivered up. The immense stores of provisions, accumulated by M. de Melas in Italy, were divided equally; the artillery of the Italian foundries was assigned to the French army, the artillery of the Austrian foundries to the imperial army. The Imperialists, after they had evacuated Lombardy, as far as the Mincio, were to confine themselves behind the following line:—the Mincio, the Fossa Maestra, the left bank of the Po, from Borgo Forte to the mouth of the river in the Adriatic. Peschiera and Mantua were left to the Austrian army. It was stipulated, without any explanation, that the detachment of that army, then in Tuscany, should continue to occupy that province. Concerning the States of the Pope and the king of Naples, no mention could be made in this capitulation, because those princes had nothing to do with events passing in Upper Italy. If this convention was not ratified by the emperor, ten days' notice of the resumption of hostilities was to be given. In the meantime, no detachment was to be sent off to Germany by either party.

Such was the substance of the celebrated convention of Alex-

andria, that in one day gained for France the restitution of Upper Italy, which involved the restitution of the whole of Italy. M. de Melas has since been censured much, and much too severely, for this campaign and this convention. We ought to be just towards misfortune, especially when it is redeemed by conduct full of honour. M. de Melas was deceived, respecting the existence of the army of reserve, by the cabinet of Vienna, which was incessantly feeding him with the most mischievous illusions. When once undeceived, he may he censured for not having collected his troops either soon enough, or completely enough, and for having left too many men in the fortresses. It was, in fact, not behind the walls of those places, but on the field of battle of Marengo, that they ought to have been defended. Admitting this fault, it must be acknowledged that M. de Melas conducted himself as brave men do, when they are surrounded; he strove to cut his way through, sword in hand. The attempt was most gallantly made, and he was vanquished. From that time there was but one thing possible for him to do, and that was, to save the liberty of his army, for Italy was irrecoverably lost to him. He could not obtain more than he did obtain; he might even, had the conqueror so willed it, have been subjected to further humiliations. And the conqueror himself did well not to require more, since, had he determined to humble these brave men, he would have incurred the risk of driving them to desperate extremities, and of losing valuable time, his presence in Paris being at that moment indispensable. Let us, then, pity M. de Melas, and admire, without reserve, the conduct of the victor, who owed the prodigious results of this campaign, not to chance, but to the most profound and the most marvellously executed combinations

Some detractors of general Bonaparte have pretended to attribute to general Kellermann the victory of Marengo and all the results which that memorable battle brought in its train. Why then, if general Bonaparte must be stripped of this glory, not ascribe it to that noble victim of the happiest inspiration, to that Desaix, who, anticipating the orders of his chief, sacrificed his life, but won the day? Or why not ascribe it to that intrepid defender of Genoa, who, by detaining the Austrians on the Apennines, gave general Bonaparte time to descend from the Alps, and delivered them up to him almost half destroyed? According to some people, generals Kellermann, Desaix, and Masséna, would be the real conquerors of Marengo,—all, excepting general Bonaparte. But, in this world, the voice of nations has always decreed glory, and the voice of nations has proclaimed conqueror him, who discovered, with the glance of genius, the use that might be made of the High Alps, for debouching on the rear of the Austrians, who deceived their vigilance for three successive months, who created an army which did not exist, who caused its formation to be disbelieved by all Europe, who

crossed the St. Bernard without beaten road, appeared unexpectedly in the midst of Italy; confounded with astonishment, surrounded his unfortunate adversary with marvellous art, and fought with him a decisive battle, lost in the morning, regained in the evening, and sure to have been regained, if not on that day, yet on the next: for, besides Desaix's 6000 men; 10,000 hastening up from the Tessino, and 10,000 posted on the Lower Po, would have furnished infallible means for destroying the hostile army. Let us suppose, in fact, the Austrians, victorious on the 14th of June, entering the defile of La Stradella, finding at Piacenza generals Duhesme and Loison, with 10,000 men, ready to dispute with them the passage of the Po, and at their heels general Bonaparte, reinforced by generals Desaix and Moncey; what would the Austrians have done in that dangerous place, stopped by a well-defended river, and pursued by an army superior in number? They would have succumbed more disastrously than in the plains of the Bormida. The real conqueror of Marengo was, therefore, he who chained Fortune by his combinations, profound, admirable, unequalled in the history of great captains.

For the rest, he was ably served by his lieutenants, and there is no need to sacrifice any glory for the purpose of building up his. Masséna, by an heroic defence of Genoa,—Desaix, by the most happy determination,—Lannes, by incomparable firmness in the plain of Marengo,—Kellermann, by a splendid charge of cavalry,—all aided him in his triumph. He rewarded them all in the most signal manner; and, as for Desaix, he evinced for his death the noblest sorrow. The First Consul decreed magnificent honours to the man who had rendered France so important a service; he even adopted his military family and placed about his own person his two aides-de-camp, who were thrown out of employment by the death of their general: these were colonels Rapp and Savary.

Before he left the field of battle of Marengo, the First Consul resolved to write another letter to the emperor of Germany. Though the first had elicited only an indirect answer, addressed by M. de Thugut to M. de Talleyrand, he conceived that in the hour of victory he might condescend to renew his rejected overtures. At this moment, he was most ardently desirous of peace: he felt that, to give peace to France abroad, as he had pacified it at home, was his real vocation, and that the accomplishment of this task would legitimatise his nascent authority, much more than new victories could possibly do. Susceptible, moreover, of the strongest impressions, he had been most deeply touched on beholding that plain of Marengo, on which lay a fourth of two armies: under the influence of these sentiments, he wrote a singular letter to the emperor. "It is on the field of battle," said he, "amidst the sufferings of a multitude of wounded, and surrounded by 15,000 dead, that I

beseech your Majesty to listen to the voice of humanity, and not to permit two brave nations to slaughter each other for interests which are foreign to both. It is for me to urge your Majesty; since I am nearer than you to the theatre of war, your heart cannot be so strongly impressed as mine."

The letter was long. The First Consul discussed in it, with the eloquence peculiar to himself, and in language which was not that of diplomacy, the motives which France and Austria could still have for continuing armed against one another. "Is it for religion that you are fighting?" said he. "In this case, make war upon the Russians and the English, who are the enemies of your faith, and be not their ally. Is it to check the progress of revolutionary principles? But the war has propagated them over half the continent, by extending the conquests of France, and it cannot but propagate them still farther. Is it for the balance of power in Europe? But the English threaten that balance more than we do; for they are become the masters and the tyrants of commerce, and nobody can now match them; whereas Europe will always be able to control France, if she were seriously to threaten the independence of nations.—[A proposition unfortunately but too well founded, as a war of fifteen years has but too fully proved!] Is it," added the warrior diplomatist, "is it for the integrity of the Germanic empire? But your Majesty has yourself given up to us Mayence and the German States on the left bank of the Rhine. Besides, the Empire is earnestly entreating you to give it peace. Is it, lastly, for the interests of the house of Austria? Nothing is more natural: but let us carry out the treaty of Campo Formio, which secures to your Majesty large indemnities in compensation of the provinces lost in the Netherlands, and ensures them to you in that quarter where you had rather obtain them, that is, in Italy. Let your Majesty send negotiators whithersoever you please, and we will add to the treaty of Campo Formio stipulations capable of satisfying you relative to the existence of the secondary States, which the French Republic is charged with having shaken." The First Consul here alluded to Holland, Switzerland, Piedmont, the Roman States, Tuscany, and Naples, which the Directory had revolutionised. "On these conditions," he added, "peace is made; let us extend the armistice to both armies, and enter into immediate negotiations."

M. de St. Julien, one of the generals who possessed the confidence of the emperor, was to be the bearer of this letter and of the convention of Alexandria to Vienna.

Some days afterwards, his first impressions having somewhat worn off, the First Consul felt that species of regret which he often experienced, when he happened to write an important paper from the first impulse, and without consulting cooler minds than his own. In apprising the Consuls of the step he had taken, he said, "I have despatched a courier to the emperor

with a letter which the minister of foreign affairs will communicate to you. *You will find it rather original;* but it was written on the field of battle. (June 22nd.)

Having taken leave of his army, he set out for Milan on the morning of the 17th of June (28th Prairial) three days after the victory of Marengo. He was awaited there with keen impatience. He arrived about dark. The population, forewarned, thronged the streets to see him pass. They raised shouts of joy, and threw flowers into his carriage. The city was illuminated with that brilliancy which the Italians alone understand the art of displaying on such occasions. The Lombards, who had just borne for ten or twelve months the Austrian yoke, rendered more galling by the war and the violence of circumstances, trembled for fear of being replaced under their insupportable authority. During the various phases of this short campaign, in which the most contrary reports reached them, they had experienced the most painful anxiety, and they were transported with joy to see their deliverance at last ensured. General Bonaparte ordered the re-establishment of the Cisalpine Republic to be immediately proclaimed, and hastened to introduce some order into the affairs of Italy, the aspect of which was completely changed by his recent victory.

We have already observed that the war, undertaken by the formidable coalition of the Russians, the English, and the Austrians, to re-establish in their dominions the princes overthrown by the alleged encroachments of the Directory, had not replaced any of them. The king of Piedmont was at Rome, and the grand-duke of Tuscany in Austria; the Pope had died at Valence, and his provinces were invaded by the Neapolitans. The royal family of Naples, entirely devoted to the English, was alone in its dominions. The queen of Naples, Sir John Acton, and lord Nelson, permitted, if they did not order, abominable cruelties. The victory of the French Republic was destined to change all this: humanity was as much interested in the matter as policy.

The First Consul instituted a provisional government in Milan, till the Cisalpine could be reorganised, and definitive frontiers assigned to it, which would not be possible before peace. He did not conceive that he was obliged to pay more regard to the king of Piedmont than Austria had shown for him, and therefore he was in no hurry to re-establish him in his dominions. He appointed, instead, a provisional government, and nominated general Jourdan commissioner to this government, with the direction of which he was charged. The First Consul had long wished to employ, and to withdraw from his enemies, this wise and honest man, not at all fitted to be the head of the anarchists in France. Piedmont, therefore, was held in reserve, with the intention of disposing of it at the peace, either for the profit of the French Republic, or as a pledge of

reconciliation with Europe, when reconstituting her secondary States, destroyed under the Directory. Tuscany was to continue occupied by an Austrian corps. The First Consul caused it to be watched, ready to lay hands on it if the English should land, or if more men should be raised against France. As for Naples, he said nothing, he did nothing, waiting to see the effect of his victory on the spirit of that court. The queen of Naples, in affright, was already preparing to set out for Vienna, to solicit the support of Austria, and, more especially, that of Russia.

There remained the court of Rome: here temporal interests were bound up with the most important spiritual interests. Pius VI., as we have seen, had recently died in France, the prisoner of the Directory. The First Consul, true to his policy, had caused funeral honours to be paid to him. A conclave had assembled at Venice, and had, with great difficulty, obtained permission from the Austrian cabinet to appoint a successor to the deceased Pope. Thirty-five cardinals attended this conclave. A prelate was secretary: this was monsignor Consalvi, a Roman priest, young, ambitious, remarkable for the pliancy, the penetration, the agreeable qualities of his mind, and who has since been mixed up with the most important affairs of the time. The conclave, as usual in all elections, political or religious, was divided. Twenty-two of its members sided with cardinal Braschi, nephew of the late Pope, and supported the pretensions of cardinal Bellisomi, bishop of Cesena. Those who were unwilling to perpetuate at Rome the all-powerful influence of the Braschi family, joined cardinal Antonelli, who was in favour of cardinal Mattei, who signed the treaty of Tolentino. But they gave him only thirteen votes. For several months this silent but obstinate contest had been going on. Neither of the two competitors had as yet gained any votes from the other. At length the learned cardinal Gerdil, who had figured in the controversies of the last century, was thought of. This new candidate was a native of Savoy, and had become, since the victories of the Republic, a subject of France. Austria exercised her right of exclusion against him. To put an end to the matter, two members of the conclave deserted cardinal Mattei, and promised to support cardinal Bellisomi, which ensured him twenty-four votes, that is, two-thirds, the number rigorously required by the laws of the Church to render an election valid. But, as the assembly was held in the dominions of Austria, it was thought proper first to submit to her this nomination, in order to obtain her tacit assent. The court of Vienna had the discourtesy to let more than a month elapse before returning an answer. The susceptibility of the princes of the Church was wounded; at the same time the plans of all parties were upset, and the election of cardinal Bellisomi became impossible. This moment of disorder and fatigue the able secretary of the conclave, the prelate Consalvi, had been waiting for, to start a fresh candidate,

the object of his long and secret meditations. Addressing himself to each party in that language which was most likely to touch it, he demonstrated to one the inconveniences of the preponderance of the Braschi; to another the little reliance that could be placed on Austria, or the other Christian courts; then, appealing to the old Roman interest, so profound, so sagacious, he unfolded to their astonished eyes a prospect absolutely new to them all. "It is from France," said he to them, "that we have suffered persecution for these ten years past. Well, it is from France that we may, perhaps, derive future support and consolation. France, ever since the days of Charlemagne, has always been the most useful, the least irksome of protectors. A young and very extraordinary man, of whom it is still very difficult to form a judgment, now rules that country, and, depend upon it, he will very soon have reconquered Italy. [The battle of Marengo had not then been fought.] Recollect that he protected the priests in 1797, and that he has, quite recently, paid funeral honours to Pius VI. Singular expressions which he has been heard to use, on the subject of religion and of the court of Rome, have been repeated to us by witnesses worthy of credit. Do not neglect the support which you may derive from that quarter. Let us make a final choice that cannot be considered as an hostility to France; that may even, up to a certain point, be agreeable to her; and we shall, perhaps, do a thing more serviceable to the Church, than applying for candidates to all the Catholic courts in Europe."

This was certainly a flash from that genius of the court of Rome, which afterwards blazed forth at the commencement of the present century. Monsignor Consalvi then put forward the name of cardinal Chiaramonti, bishop of Imola. It was impossible to make a choice more consonant with the end which he had in view. Cardinal Chiaramonti, a native of Cesena, aged fifty-eight years, related to Pius VI., elevated by him to the Roman purple, had long been universally esteemed for his understanding, his learning, and his amiable character. With these attractive qualities he united great firmness; and he had been seen at an earlier period struggling with a victorious fortitude against the annoyances of his Order, that of St. Benedict, and the persecutions of the Holy Office. His most recent and most celebrated act was a homily written in quality of bishop of Imola, when his diocese had been united with the Cisalpine Republic. He had then spoken of the French Revolution with a moderation which had charmed the conqueror of Italy, and scandalised the fanatics of the old order of things. Respected, nevertheless, by every body, he pleased the Braschi party, was not disliked by the contrary party, suited all the cardinals, weary of the length of the conclave, and was deemed a happy choice by those who hoped much from the good-will of France in future. The unexpected adhesion of an illustrious personage

decided his election, which, in fact, met with no real difficulty but in his personal reluctance to accept such an honour. This adhesion was that of cardinal Maury. This celebrated champion of the ancient French monarchy had retired to the court of Rome, where he lived, rewarded by a cardinal's hat for his struggles with Barnave and Mirabeau. He was an emigrant, but an emigrant endowed with a remarkable mind, extraordinary sense, and cherishing with secret satisfaction the idea of attaching himself again to the government of France, since glory redeemed the novelty of that government. He could dispose of six votes, and gave them to cardinal Chiaramonti, who was elected Pope nearly at the moment of the arrival of general Bonaparte at Milan, after crossing the St. Bernard.

The new Pontiff was at Venice, having been unable to obtain from the court of Vienna permission to be crowned at St. Mark's, or from the court of Naples the restitution of Rome. However, having set out almost suddenly to proceed to Ancona, he negotiated in that city the evacuation of the States of the Church, and his own return to the capital of the Christian world. France, which had become friendly towards the Holy See, had it in her power to afford him very timely support in this precarious position, and the singular foresight of Monsignor Consalvi might receive its fulfilment in a manner which was altogether unexpected. This meeting of cardinal Chiaramonti and the First Consul, the one raised to the pontifical throne, the other to the republican dictatorship, nearly at the same time, was not one of the least extraordinary or the least fertile in consequences of the events of the present century.

Young Bonaparte, in 1796, the submissive general of the Directory, unable as yet to dare every thing, and not as yet pretending to school the French Revolution, had maintained the Pope by the treaty of Tolentino, and had taken from him nothing but the Legations for the purpose of annexing them to the Cisalpine Republic. Having now become First Consul, having it in his power to do what he thought fit, determined to rectify many of the things which the French Revolution had accomplished, he could not hesitate as to his conduct towards the recently elected Pope. No sooner had he returned to Milan than he had an interview with cardinal Martiniana, bishop of Vercelli, a friend of Pius VII.'s, declared to him that he was resolved to live on good terms with the Holy See, to reconcile the French Revolution with the Church, even to support the latter against her enemies, if the new Pope showed himself reasonable, and thoroughly comprehended the then situation of France and of the world. This intimation, dropped into the ear of the aged cardinal, was not destined to be lost, and was soon to produce abundant fruit. The bishop of Vercelli despatched to Rome his own nephew, count Alciati, to open a negotiation.

To this overture general Bonaparte added an act which was still bolder, and in which he durst not have indulged in Paris; but he was delighted to make the news of it travel from a distance into France, as a token of his future intentions. The Italians had made preparations for a solemn *Te Deum* in the ancient cathedral of Milan. He determined to be present at the ceremony, and, on the 18th of June (29th Prairial), he wrote these words to the Consuls: "To-day, in spite of all that our Paris atheists may say, I am going in great state to the *Te Deum* which is to be sung in the cathedral of Milan." (Archives of the State Paper Office.)

After he had thus turned his mind to the general affairs of Italy, he made some indispensable arrangements for the distribution of the army in the conquered country, and for its subsistence and reorganisation. Masséna had just joined him. The ill-humour of the defender of Genoa was dispelled by the flattering reception which the First Consul gave him, and he was appointed to the command of the army of Italy, to which he was so well entitled. This army was composed of the corps which had defended Genoa, of that which had defended the Var, of the troops which had crossed the St. Bernard, and of those under general Moncey, which had come from Germany. These together formed an imposing mass of 80,000 tried men. The First Consul quartered them in the rich plains of the Po, to give them rest after their fatigues, and to indemnify them for their privations by the abundance which they would there enjoy.

With his accustomed foresight, the First Consul ordered the forts and citadels which closed the passes between France and Italy to be blown up. In consequence, the demolition of the forts of Arona, Bard, and Seravalle, and of the citadels of Ceva and Ivrea, was prescribed and executed. He fixed the extent of the contributions, which were to serve for the subsistence of the army, and the mode in which they were to be levied: despatched the consular guard himself, calculating the days' marches in such a manner that it should arrive in Paris in time for the festival of the 14th of July,* which, according to his intentions, was to be celebrated with great pomp. He took the trouble while yet at Milan, to regulate the details of that fête. "It is necessary," he writes, "to study to make the solemnity of the 14th of July a brilliant one, and not to let it *ape* the rejoicings which have hitherto taken place. Chariot-races might be very well in Greece, where they fought in chariots. They are out of place and unmeaning in France." (Milan, June 22nd. State Paper Office.) He forbade triumphal arches to be erected for him, observing, that he wished for no other triumphal arch than the public satisfaction.

* The anniversary of the storming of the Bastille in 1789.

If the First Consul, notwithstanding the urgent interests that called for his presence at Paris, did tarry ten days at Milan, it was that he might thoroughly assure himself of the punctual execution of the convention of Alexandria. He mistrusted Austrian honesty, and even imagined that he perceived some delay in the delivery of certain places. He immediately stormed against the weakness of Berthier, and ordered the second and third columns of the army of M. de Melas to be detained. The first had already set out. There was reason for some fears respecting Genoa, in particular, which the Austrians might easily be tempted to deliver up to the English, before the French had time to take possession of it. In fact, the prince of Hohenzollern, either of his own accord, or instigated by the English, refused at this moment to give up to Masséna's troops a place which the Austrians had found it so difficult to take. M. de Melas, when informed of these demurs, enjoined his lieutenant, in the most honourable manner, to fulfil the convention of Alexandria, threatening, if he resisted, to give him up to the consequences liable to be brought upon him by such an act of perfidy. The injunction of M. de Melas was obeyed, and Genoa was delivered to the French on the 24th of June, amidst the rejoicings of the Ligurian patriots, freed in so few days from the presence of the Austrians and the domination of the oligarchy. Thus was fulfilled the spirited declaration of Masséna, "I swear to you that I will be back again in Genoa before a fortnight is over!"

All this being done, the First Consul set out from Milan on the 24th of June, with Duroc, his favourite aide-de-camp, Bessières, commandant of the consular guard, M. de Bourrienne his secretary, and Savary, one of the two officers whom he had attached to his person in memory of Desaix. He stopped a few hours at Turin, to give orders for works at the citadel, crossed Mont Cenis, and entered Lyons under triumphal arches, amidst the population, amazed at the prodigies which had been just accomplished. The Lyonnais, who were equally smitten with his glory and his policy, beset the hôtel des Celestins, where he had alighted, and absolutely insisted on seeing him. He was obliged to show himself. Unanimous acclamations burst forth at sight of him. He was so earnestly solicited to lay the first stone of the Place Bellecour, the rebuilding of which was about to be commenced, that he could not help complying. He passed a day at Lyons, amidst the concourse of all the inhabitants of the environs. Having addressed the Lyonnais in terms which delighted them, relative to the speedy re-establishment of peace, order, and commerce, he set out for Paris. The inhabitants of the country thronged together at every place through which he passed. This man, so kindly treated by Fortune, keenly enjoyed his glory, and yet, conversing incessantly by the way with his travelling companions, he made this grand

remark, which so finely expresses his insatiable thirst of renown, "Yes," said he, "in less than two years I have conquered Cairo, Milan, Paris: and yet, were I to die to-morrow, I should not have half a page in a Universal History." He arrived in the night between the 2nd and 3rd of July at Paris.

His return was necessary, for, having been away from the capital nearly two months, his absence, especially at the moment of the false news of Marengo, had given rise to some intrigues. It was even believed for a moment that he was either dead or vanquished, and ambitious persons had set themselves to work. Some thought of Carnot, others of M. de La Fayette, who had been released from Olmütz, through the kindness of the First Consul, and returned to France. They were for making Carnot or M. de La Fayette president of the Republic. M. de La Fayette had no hand in these intrigues; no more had Carnot. But Joseph and Lucien Bonaparte conceived, and most unjustly, a mistrust of the latter, which they infused also into their brother. Hence that unlucky resolution, which the First Consul executed a little later, to take the portfolio of war from Carnot. Some even imagined that they could perceive in Messrs. de Talleyrand and Fouché, who hated one another, a tendency to be reconciled, no doubt for the purpose of concerting their schemes, and profiting together by recent events. On this occasion not the slightest symptom of stir was visible on the part of M. Sieyès, the man best entitled to lead the country, in case general Bonaparte should have disappeared from the scene. But he was the only one who showed so much reserve. All this, however, had scarcely time to betray itself, so speedily were the bad tidings superseded by good. But what had passed was greatly exaggerated in the relation, and the First Consul conceived against certain persons a resentment, which he had the good sense to conceal, and even to forget entirely, in regard to all those who had been mentioned to him, one only excepted, the illustrious Carnot. The First Consul, moreover, wholly engrossed by joy at his successes, was desirous that, at this moment, not the slightest cloud should arise to overshadow the public felicity. He gave a gracious reception to all, and was himself welcomed with transport, especially by those who had reason to reproach themselves. The populace of Paris, on hearing of his return, collected under the windows of the Tuileries, and thronged, during the whole day, the courts and the garden of the palace. The First Consul was several times obliged to show himself to the crowd. At night, the city of Paris was spontaneously illuminated. People were eager to celebrate a miraculous victory, the certain presage of an ardently desired peace. This day so deeply touched him who was the object of this homage that, twenty years afterwards, in loneliness, in exile, a prisoner amidst the solitude of the Atlantic Ocean, he men-

tioned it among his recollections as one of the happiest of his life.

On the following day, the bodies of the State waited upon him, and set the first example of those congratulations, the irksome spectacle of which we have since seen so often repeated, and in every reign. This spectacle was then new, and there was an adequate motive for it. There appeared successively at the Tuileries, the Senate, the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, the chief tribunals, the Prefecture of the Seine, the civil and military authorities, the directors of the Bank of France, lastly, the Institute, and the scientific societies. These great bodies hastened to compliment the conqueror of Marengo, and addressed him in such language as kings were formerly addressed, as they have since been addressed in. But it must be admitted that this language, though uniformly that of praise, was dictated by a sincere enthusiasm. In fact, the aspect of things changed in a few months; security succeeding deep alarm; an unparalleled victory replacing France at the head of the powers of Europe; the certainty of a speedy peace putting an end to the anxieties of a general war; in short, prosperity already showing itself on all sides. How could such great results, so speedily realized, fail to transport the nation? The president of the Senate concluded his address, which may convey an idea of all the others, in these terms:—

"We take pleasure in acknowledging that to you the country owes its salvation; that to you the Republic will owe its consolidation, and the people a prosperity, which you have in one day made to succeed ten years of the most stormy of revolutions."

While these things were passing in Italy and in France, Moreau, on the banks of the Danube, continued his glorious campaign against M. de Kray. We left him manœuvring about Ulm, to oblige the Austrians to quit that stronghold. He had posted himself between the Iller and the Lech, supporting his left and his right on those two rivers, turning his face to the Danube, his back to the city of Augsburg, ready to receive M. de Kray, if he chose to fight, and meanwhile barring the road to the Alps, which was the essential feature of the general plan. If the successes of Moreau had not been either prompt or decisive, they had been steady and sufficient to allow the First Consul to accomplish in Italy what he purposed to do there. But the moment was come when the general of the army of the Rhine, emboldened by time and by the success of the army of reserve, was resolved on trying a serious manœuvre, to dislodge M. de Kray from the position of Ulm. Now that, though he knew nothing about the battle of Marengo, he had heard, however, of the successful passage of the Alps, Moreau, no longer fearful of uncovering the mountains, had full liberty in his

movements. Of the different manœuvres possible for effecting the fall of the position of Ulm, he preferred that which consisted in crossing the Danube below that place, and forcing M. de Kray to decamp, by threatening to cut off his line of retreat. This manœuvre was, in fact, the best; for that which consisted in pushing straight on by Munich for Vienna, was too bold for the character of Moreau, and perhaps premature, in the general state of affairs. That which would have consisted in crossing above and quite close to Ulm, and storming the Austrian camp, was hazardous, like every attack by main force. But to cross below Ulm, and, by threatening, to cut off M. de Kray's line of retreat, to oblige him to retire and secure it, was at once the most prudent and the safest manœuvre.

From the 15th to the 18th of June, Moreau set himself in motion to execute his new resolution. The organization of his army, as we have said, had been somewhat changed in consequence of the departure of generals St. Cyr and St. Suzanne. Lecourbe still formed the right, and Moreau the centre, at the head of the corps of reserve. The corps of St. Cyr, transferred to general Grenier, formed the left. The corps of St. Suzanne, reduced to the proportions of a strong division, and given to the daring Richepanse, was to perform the office of a corps of flankers, which, at this moment, was employed in observing Ulm, while the rest of the army was manœuvring below it.

There had been some fighting about Ulm, in particular on the 5th of June, when two French divisions had made head against 40,000 Austrians. This was an expedient of M. de Kray's to keep us before Ulm, by giving us plenty of occupation. On the 18th of June, Richepanse was in sight of Ulm; Grenier, with the left, at Guntzburg; the centre, composed of the corps of reserve, at Burgau; Lecourbe, with the right, extended to Dillingen. The enemy had cut all the bridges from Ulm to Donauwerth. But a reconnaissance made by Lecourbe had decided Moreau to choose the points of Blindheim and Gremheim for crossing the Danube, because at these two points the bridges were imperfectly cut, and might easily be repaired. Lecourbe was charged with this perilous operation. To facilitate it for him, he was reinforced by general Boyer with five battalions, and by the whole reserve of cavalry, under the command of general d'Hautpoul. The centre, under the general-in-chief, moved even from Burgau to Aislingen, to be at hand to support the passage. Grenier, with the left, had orders to make an attempt on his side, to attract the attention of the enemy.

On the morning of the 19th of June, Lecourbe had posted his troops between the villages of Blindheim and Gremheim, the bridges of which were but half destroyed, and he took care to shelter himself behind some clumps of trees. He had no bridge equipage, in fact, nothing but a quantity of planks. He

made up by daring courage for the want of every thing else. General Gudin directed, under Lecourbe, this attempt to cross. Some pieces of artillery were planted on the bank of the Danube, to keep off the enemy; at the same time, the adjutant Quenot bravely swam off, for the purpose of seizing two large barks which were lying on the other side. This courageous officer brought them away under a shower of balls, and returned with only a slight wound on the foot. The best swimmers in the divisions were then selected; they deposited their clothes and their arms in the two barks, and plunged into the water under the enemy's fire. On reaching the other bank, without even taking time to put on their clothes, they seized their arms, dashed upon some companies of Austrians who guarded that part of the river, dispersed them, and took from them two pieces of cannon with the ammunition waggons. This done, our men hastened to the bridges, the props of which were still standing; they worked away on both banks and made use of ladders and planks, to re-establish some sort of communication. Some French artillerymen availed themselves of it to cross to the other side of the Danube, and turned against the enemy the two pieces of cannon which had been taken from him. We were soon masters of both banks; and the bridges were sufficiently repaired to afford passage to the greater part of the troops. The infantry and cavalry began to debouch. It was to be expected that numerous Austrian reinforcements would promptly ascend from Donauwerth, and others descend from all the upper positions, Gundelfingen, Guntzburg, and Ulm. Lecourbe, who had repaired himself to the spot, caused such infantry as he could spare, and some troops of horse, to be placed in the village of Schwenningen, which was on the road to Donauwerth. This was an important point; for it was that way by which the Austrians ascending the Danube must come. Accordingly, it was not long before 4000 infantry, 500 horse, and six pieces of cannon, made their appearance, and attacked the village, which in less than two hours was several times lost and retaken. The numerical superiority of the Austrians, however, and their obstinate determination to recover an important position, had wellnigh triumphed over our troops, and obliged them to abandon the village, when Lecourbe received a seasonable reinforcement of two squadrons of carabineers. He united with them a few troops of the 8th hussars, which he had at hand, and pushed them upon the enemy's infantry, extended over the spacious plain to the banks of the Danube. This charge was executed with such vigour and promptness that the Austrians were driven back, and left us their artillery, 2000 prisoners, and 300 horses. Two battalions of Wurtembergers, endeavouring to keep their ground by forming into squares, were broken like the others. After this brilliant action, fought by Puthod's brigades, Lecourbe had nothing more to fear from

the quarter of the Lower Danube. But that was not the side from which the greatest danger was likely to come. The bulk of the Austrians being posted above, that is to say at Dillingen, Gundelfingen, and Ulm, it was necessary to turn towards that side to face the enemy who was about to descend from it. Luckily, Montrichard's and Gudin's divisions and d'Hautpoul's reserve had crossed by the repaired bridges of Gremheim and Blindheim, and bordered the celebrated plain of Hochstett, rendered sadly famous for us in the time of Louis XIV. (13th of August, 1704). The enemy, having hastened from the nearest points to Dillingen, at some distance from Hochstett, was drawn up near the Danube, the infantry on our left, along the marshes of the river, and behind some clumps of trees; the cavalry in very strong force on our right. They thus presented themselves in good order, awaiting the reinforcements which were coming, and retiring slowly, to draw nearer to those reinforcements. The 37th demi-brigade and a squadron of the 9th hussars followed step by step the retrograde movement of the Austrians. Lecourbe, having rid himself by the action at Schwenningen of any enemy that could come from the Lower Danube, had arrived at a gallop, at the head of the 2nd regiment of carabineers, the cuirassiers, the 6th and 9th cavalry, and lastly the 8th hussars. This was nearly the whole of general d'Hautpoul's reserve of cavalry. They were on level ground, and separated from the enemy by a streamlet, the Egge, on which was a village, that of Schrezheim. Lecourbe, at the head of the cuirassiers, galloped through the village, formed them on debouching, and pushed them upon the Austrian cavalry, which, surprised by this vigorous and sudden charge, fell back in disorder, leaving uncovered the 9000 infantry, whom it was destined to protect. These foot-soldiers, thus abandoned, would have thrown themselves into the ditches which furrow the banks of the Danube about Dillingen; but the cuirassiers, judiciously commanded, cut the column, and separated 1800 men, who became our prisoners.

This was the second successful action that day, gained in part by the cavalry, and it was not the last. Lecourbe placed himself on the Egge, waiting for the rest of his reserves, which were to arrive by the bridge of Dillingen, which had fallen into our hands. But M. de Kray's cavalry hastened up with all possible expedition, outstripping the infantry, and formed in two great lines in the plain behind Lauingen. This was an opportunity for our cavalry to profit by the ardour which the successes of the morning had excited, and to measure themselves in the plain with the numerous and brilliant squadrons of the Austrian army. Lecourbe, having ordered his infantry to occupy Lauingen, united all the cavalry of his divisions with d'Hautpoul's, and deployed it in the plain, offering to the

enemy a species of combat which was likely to tempt him, on account of the number and the quality of his horse. The first Austrian line charged ours at full speed, with a regularity and a steadiness natural to highly trained cavalry. It drove back, in fact, the 2nd regiment of carabineers, which had behaved with such intrepidity in the morning, and some squadrons of hussars, which had charged with it. Our cuirassiers then advanced, rallied the carabineers and the hussars, who faced about on seeing themselves supported, and all together dashed with vigour upon the Austrian squadrons, which they drove back in their turn. At this sight, the second line of the enemy's cavalry advanced, and, having the advantage of impulsion over our troopers, who had become separated in the charge, obliged them to fall back precipitately. But the 9th was in reserve. Manœuvring with skill and boldness, it took the Austrian cavalry in flank, surprised, threw it into confusion, and secured to our victorious squadrons the plain of Hochstett.

The losses in killed, wounded and prisoners could not be very considerable, for it is only encounters of cavalry with infantry that are very serious. But we remained in possession of the plain, and our cavalry had just assumed a real superiority over that of the Austrians, which it never had before. All our arms had from this moment a decided ascendency over those of the enemy. It was eight o'clock, and, in the long days of June, there was still time left for the Imperialists to dispute with us the left bank of the Danube, so gloriously conquered in the morning. Eight thousand infantry advanced, in fact, to the assistance of the corps already beaten, and they were followed by a numerous artillery. Moreau came up, meanwhile, at the head of all his reserves. A new and more obstinate battle ensued. The French infantry, in its turn, attacked the Austrian infantry, under a fire of balls and grape-shot. The soldiers of M. de Kray, who fought for an important point, the preservation of the position of Ulm, displayed extreme vigour. Moreau was several times personally engaged in the thick of the fray; but his infantry, supported by the cavalry, which had returned to the charge, finally remained victorious about eleven at night. At the same moment, the 37th demi-brigade entered Gundelfingen, and then all the positions in the plain were in our hands. We had crossed the Danube, taken 5000 prisoners, twenty pieces of cannon, 1200 horses, 300 carriages, and the considerable magazines of Donauwerth. The fighting had lasted eighteen successive hours. This operation, which changed the melancholy recollections of Hochstett into recollections of glory, was, next to Marengo, the most brilliant operation of the campaign. It was equally honourable to Lecourbe and to Moreau. The latter had slowly warmed into boldness; but at length, stimulated by the examples set in Italy, he had displayed tactics of a

higher order, and he had just plucked a laurel from that tree, from which the First Consul had gathered such glorious wreaths. Happy and noble rivalry, had it never extended any further!

After so bold and so decided a manœuvre, on the part of his adversary, M. de Kray could no longer remain at Ulm, without being cut off from his communication with Vienna. To march direct upon the French, for the purpose of giving them battle, would be too hazardous, with soldiers whose courage had been again rudely shaken by the last engagements. He hastened, therefore, to decamp that same night. He sent off before him the park, consisting of nearly a thousand carriages, and followed next day, with the main body of the army, by the Nordlingen road. He marched in dreadful weather, and on roads which were in a shocking state from the rain. Such was, nevertheless, the rapidity of his retreat, that in twenty-four hours he reached Neresheim. To cheer his dispirited troops, he put in circulation a report that a suspension of arms had just been signed in Italy, that it was to be extended to Germany, and that peace could not fail to follow. This intelligence diffused joy among his soldiers, and imparted a degree of energy. They arrived at Nordlingen.

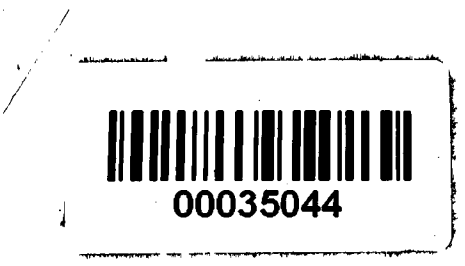
Moreau had been apprised too late of the departure of the enemy. Richepanse was not able to perceive the evacuation of Ulm till the last detachments were retiring, and he immediately communicated the intelligence to the commander-in-chief. But the Austrians had meanwhile gained the start, and, the bad weather, which prevailed for two days, prevented the French from overtaking them by a forced march. Moreau, nevertheless, arrived at Nordlingen on the 23rd of June, in the evening, closely pressing the rear-guard of M. de Kray, who continued to retreat. Finding that, owing to the badness of the roads, he should not gain sufficiently upon the Austrian army to overtake it, and that he might be drawn on in a fruitless pursuit to unknown distances, Moreau resolved to halt, and to choose a position adapted to the present state of things. M. de Kray, concealing the joyful tidings of the victory of Marengo, which were not yet known in the French camp, sent him word, however, of the suspension of arms concluded in Italy, and proposed the like for Germany. Moreau, suspecting from this that important events had taken place beyond the Alps, and not doubting that they were propitious, and expecting every moment to receive a courier to inform him of them, would not conclude any thing before he was acquainted with the particulars, and, above all, before he had conquered better cantonments for his troops. He resolved to recross the Danube, to charge Richepanse with the investment of the two principal places situated on that river, Ulm and Ingolstadt, to proceed with the bulk of his army beyond the Lech, to occupy Augsburg and Munich, and thus to secure part of Bavaria to draw provisions from, and,

lastly, to make himself master of the bridges over the Isar and of all the roads leading to the Inn.

Moreau accordingly recrossed the Danube and the Lech, at Donauwerth and Rhain, and marched his different corps, by Pottmess and Pfaffenhofen, to the banks of the Isar. He occupied, on that river, the points of Landshut, Moosburg, and Freisingen; and detached Decaen to Munich, which the latter entered, as in triumph, on the 28th of June. While he was executing this movement, the two armies met for the last time, falling in with each other unexpectedly, and being thus involved in an aimless combat. It was at Neuburg, on the right bank of the Danube, while both were marching for the Isar. A French division, having separated too far from the rest of the army, had to sustain a long and obstinate action, in which it finally triumphed, after suffering a most severe loss, that of the brave Latour d'Auvergne. This illustrious soldier, honoured by general Bonaparte with the title of First Grenadier of France, was slain by the thrust of a lance, which pierced his heart. The army shed tears upon his grave, and did not leave the field of battle till they had raised a monument over his grave.

On the 3rd of July (14th Messidor), Moreau was in the heart of Bavaria, blockading Ulm and Ingolstadt on the Danube, and occupying Landshut, Moosburg, Freisingen, and Munich on the Isar. It was now high time to think of the Tyrol, and to wrest from prince Reuss the strong positions which he held along the mountains, at the sources of the Iller, the Lech, and the Isar—positions by means of which he could always annoy the French. He was not dangerous, it is true, but his presence obliged us to detach a considerable force, as he was an object which our right wing could never lose sight of. To this end, general Molitor was reinforced, and furnished with means for attacking the Grisons and the Tyrol. The positions of Fussen, Reitti, Immenstadt, and Feldkirch, were successively taken, in a prompt and brilliant manner, and our establishment on the Isar was thus perfectly consolidated.

M. de Kray had recrossed the Isar, and moved beyond the Inn, occupying the camp of Ampfing, in advance of that river, and the *têtes de pont* of Wasserburg and Muhldorf. It was now the middle of July (the end of Messidor). The French government had authorised general Moreau to act for what he might consider the best, and to lay aside his arms whenever he should judge fit. He thought, and very reasonably, that it was not right for him to be left fighting alone. The rest enjoyed by the troops in Italy was envied them by their fellow-soldiers in Germany; besides, the army of the Rhine, stationed between the Isar and the Inn, had a much more advanced position than the army of Italy, and thus had one of its flanks uncovered. Though a stipulation of the convention of Alexandria forbade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